THE

Nonconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

VOL. X.—NEW SERIES, No. 267.] LONDON: TUESDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1850 PRICE 6d.

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ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

PROSPECTS OF PROTESTANTISM.

WE beg to call attention to another letter, inserted elsewhere, from the pen of the Rev. J. P. Mursell, of Leicester. Respect for him dictated lengthened comment on his former communication—self-respect enjoins silence on this. Enough has now been written on both sides to aid the judicious in drawing a conclusion—and neither he, nor we, we hope, feel disposed to collect the suffrages of mere partizanship. If anything which we have said has justly provoked the tone he holds to us in his present letter, we unfeignedly regret it—but to continue a discussion with one who can discern nothing in our reasonings but logomachies, sophistries, and fallacies, strikes us as very undesirable. That he and we differ rather widely on the subject of this Papal aggression is, to us, matter of sincere concern—but we fear the difference is not likely to be lessened by continuing the controversy in the strain it threatens to assume. We close it, therefore, with this single observation—that throughout, we have submitted such arguments as approved themselves to our judgment, in all simplicity, sincerity, and good faith—meaning by them neither more nor less than they fairly expressed—wishing them to be taken for what they were worth in the connexion in which they stood, and no more—and *endeavouring*, at least, to estimate them, not in the spirit of an advocate, but of a follower of truth. If we have erred—of which others must be judges—our error has been one of judgment formed after serious and conscientious reflection—but whether this be the case or not, we retire from the strife with the most earnest desire that our readers may forget whatever of a personal nature may have tinged it, and retain only what relates to the question in dispute.

We promised a word or two, in our present number, on the prospects of Protestantism, viewed in connexion with the recent assaults made upon it by the Pope and his Cardinal. We shall redeem our pledge, and then, if we can, quit the topic, of which, we suspect, our readers are already heartily weary. And, lest our remarks should add fuel to a fire which we could wish had never been kindled, and in order, moreover, that their tone may be in keeping with the genial character of the day, we shall throw them into a form of grateful reflection, rather than of controversial disputation, and aim, in what we say, not at convincing opponents, but at strengthening the confidence and brightening the hopes of friends.

No solid reason, we think, exists for harbouring the fear, or even the suspicion, that Popery, however disguised, has laid hold of the sympathies of any but an extremely small fraction of our countrymen, or that it is likely to do so. As a people, all our habits, most of our associations, and many of our national prejudices, repel its advances. We exercise every day the right of private judgment on matters both political and religious—and however forbearingly we may allow abuses to remain in being and activity, to which we have been long accustomed, that man or party who should dare to invoke law in an attempt to fetter our freedom of opinion or speech would very speedily hear an under-growl of resolute dissatisfaction which nothing but madness would treat with indifference. Our insular position has fostered in us an intense nationality. *Foreign* rule always presents itself to our minds as a shame and a degradation—and this, linked with the traditional and historical associations we have of the Papacy, may be fully relied on to frustrate any attempt of the present, or any future Pope of Rome, to bring us under his ecclesiastical sway. But we have something worthy of far more abundant confidence than this. Much as any or all of us may deplore the deficiencies of the truly religious life of our times, none of us, we apprehend, would fear to trust it against the subtlest machinations, or the most formidable efforts, of the whole congregation of the Propaganda. If, in the time of James the Second, the Protestant feeling of the country sufficed to explode the wiliest schemes of priests and statesmen for the re-establishment of Popery in these realms, and to depose and banish the monarch who abetted them, surely it is equal to such an achievement, and more, were it necessary, in our own day—for love of liberty, and sound religious faith, are far more widely diffused now than they were then. If the Pope and his creatures could only manage to get hold of the temporal sword in this kingdom, we would not, assuredly, answer for his cautious use of it. But between that if, and the reality, there are mountains of difficulty which it would take a stronger or a subtler than he to scale. Between him and any such contemplated object there is an incalculable amount of opposing interests, of enlightened opinion, of national feeling, and of spiritual faith—all which combined would defy his efforts as insane, and defeat his project with facility.

We have no misgiving as to the ultimate effect upon these obstacles to Popery of a mere extension of machinery. Neither the multiplication of chapels, nor the erection of conventual houses, nor the constitution of a hierarchy, strikes us as likely to alter greatly the mind of the English people, whilst that mind is open to all the influences at present at work upon it. With our newspaper press, with our twenty thousand Protestant pulpits, with our accumulated and still accumulating literature, with our established habits of investigation and discussion, with our facilities for intercourse, interchange of thought, and organization, with our enterprising and independent spirit, with our railways, and telegraphs, and penny post, we fancy it will be no very easy affair, by means of either Papal bulls, or Papal bishops, to impose upon us the leaden rule of the Roman Pontiff. He will require better instruments than these for the accomplishment of his object—and if these were ever so well adapted to change the opinions and character of the British people, he will want more time than his system is likely to enjoy. We see, therefore, no ground for alarm at his present arrogance. He has not made himself stronger, nor Protestantism weaker, by the creation of a hierarchy. Doubtless, he thinks he has, for it is evident he is profoundly ignorant of the people whom he wishes to restore to his fold. But that is no reason why we, who are not ignorant, should think so too.

We cannot say, moreover, that we have very much fear of the despotic force which continental governments might be supposed but too willing to lend him for the accomplishment of his designs. France, Italy, Austria, Southern Germany, may be regarded as ready to ally themselves with the Pope, to quench the last spark of freedom in England. But what is the actual condition of these countries? Why, their rulers have far more reason for alarm than we have. They are uppermost just now, but how long will they remain so? Every one who watches continental politics may discern underneath the rigid surface of despotism, a spirit of democracy nourishing itself, and quietly husbanding its tremendous energies for another explosion. The Emperors, and Kings, and Presidents, who strut the stage so proudly, are walking on the crust of a volcano boiling within with fiery and unquenchable passions—and long before Pope or Cardinal can visibly change the aspect of society in England, an eruption will occur which will topple down thrones, and blow off tiaras and hats, and shiver into atoms the best-planned schemes of aggrandizement. *They* assist the Pope against us! They have enough to do to hold their own. *They* make war upon us, and for the sake of the Papacy! Why, they dare not war with each other, lest their subjects should seize the occasion for getting rid of them. They know too well that in the event of any such attempt, England need but lift up a finger, and revolution would run as a magnetic shock through the entire continent. And of all the sovereigns who should dread that coming day of retribution, none has cause to dread it more than the Sovereign Pontiff, whose people literally pant for the hour of vengeance, and, but for foreign bayonets, would even now be flying at the throats of their priestly oppressors. No! no! We have no reason to dread any combination against us of despotic governments, when the first step they take would place them front to front, not with Great Britain, but with their own enraged subjects.

Carefully noting all the probabilities lying before us, we can discern no ground for rational apprehension as to the prospects of Protestantism in this country. Viewed in its religious aspect, the resistance opposed to Papal encroachments is of too massive, solid, and tenacious a character to be frittered away by the action upon it of a few Cathedral establishments, upon the services of which, after the first blush of novelty has faded, none but the devotees of Rome are likely to attend, or by the attractive splendours of a hierarchy which will sink into comparative obscurity if not exalted into notice by the semblance of persecution. Looked at politically, we are quite sure that our Protestantism is in no danger from the recent proceedings of the Pope—and that the state of the continent is much better adapted to make him tremble for his throne and tiara, than to excite in us a fear of the Inquisition. The public opinion of this country is in no danger of being *altered* by the operation of the Papal bull, nor of being *suppressed* by the despots with whom Pio Nono may ally himself. We have no misgivings as to the safety either of our liberties, or our religion, so far, at least, as the subtlety or power of Rome is concerned. We would not, however, encourage supineness. We see no reason for abstaining from the active use of all moral means for exposing the real character, and the arrogant pretensions, of the Papal system, but many for increased exertion. But neither can we abet the merging of all Anti-state-church considerations, into merely Protestant ones, nor the adoption of precautions which, however we may justify them to our own minds, will be generally interpreted as an abandonment of our principles.

Once more we quit this topic. Very reluctantly did we come back to it, after having, as we imagined, taken our farewell of it. So far as we are concerned, we are resolved not to carry the discussion into the new year. There are some methods of action in which we can all cordially unite—and to these, as a fitting preparation for the Parliamentary session, we may, perhaps, invite the attention of our readers. We have faithfully delivered the testimony prescribed to us by conscience. We shall as cheerfully as possible submit to the painful annoyances which may be consequent thereon. But hope is steady and bright in our bosom. Time will cast new light on both sides of the controversy. Temporary misunderstandings will be cleared up. The differences of the passing moment, if not reconciled, will soon fade into oblivion. All parties will learn to respect the independence which men banded together for a great object can tolerate among each other. The feverishness of feeling will abate. The wranglings of the hour will cease, and hearts which are allied to each other by long and fond attachment to the same sacred cause, will still beat in unison when the disturbing influences of this Papal affair no longer operate. Perhaps we all need a little more exercise in mutual forbearance. Let us try and practise it! The time is not far distant, it appears to us, when united action will

Popery was to be found in all our churches—among the Wesleyans, Independents, Baptists, and every other denomination. He met a woman the other day who said, "How about the Pope?" He replied, "You need not mind him, as he will not interfere with you." She continued, "The 'Squire has been round with a petition, and said the Pope wanted to deprive the Queen of her crown. The 'Squire asked a man to sign it, who said he would not, as the Pope did not signify to him. 'Then,' says the 'Squire, 'you may go to the Pope for your *beef* at Christmas, for you shall have none here'" [hear and laughter]. Now *this* was Popery, and there was too much of it in this country already. The Rev. W. Robinson rose to second the memorial, as he perfectly agreed with it. What need was there of all this cry about Popery? Why this setting up this man of straw to kick him down again? The Catholics had their chapels, and he supposed no one would say, "Shut them up." They held mass in those chapels, so they must have priests; and if they had priests they must have bishops; and what did it matter whether they were called bishops or vicars-apostolic? for their powers were just the same; and if a law was passed to take away the title they would again assume that of vicar-apostolic, and their power over their churches would still be the same. The two memorials were then read by the Chairman, after which he put to the meeting the amended one as proposed by Mr. H. Toller. A show of hands was then taken, when a forest of hands arose as if by magic. The other was put, when not more than fifty were held up. The Chairman said, in justice to his office, he must say the amendment was carried. This announcement was received with tremendous cheering, which lasted some time. The proceedings [of this singular meeting—the above sketch of which we have abridged from the *Leicestershire Mercury*—closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman, who said in reply, he believed it was to the fostering care of the Church of England that Dissenters owed their security; and that, if Popery should obtain the ascendency, they would be the first to cry out against it.——A meeting was held in the Town-hall, Cambridge, on Tuesday: the Mayor in the chair. Alderman Fawcett moved, and Mr. W. G. Ashton (a Dissenter), seconded, the first resolution, describing the "Papal rescript as an unwarrantable attack on the prerogative of the Crown and the powers of Parliament, as well as a gross infringement of the spirit, if not of the letter, of the British constitution." The Rev. Mr. Bubier (Independent) rose to move an amendment:—

He was sorry he could not agree in the resolution, and he would state his reasons in a few words, not likely to raise unpleasant feeling. He would not treat the question as one between Church and State, though some cry of that kind had been heard in the room; for he felt that a meeting of Protestants proposing to take steps in a matter of this kind should, if possible, meet the feelings of all who were really Protestants [hear, hear]. But the resolution before the meeting contained one sentence which no consistent Protestant Nonconformist could subscribe. The ecclesiastical arrangements of the Pope were stated to be an infringement of, and an unwarrantable attack upon, the prerogative of the Crown [hear, and interruption]. Members of the Church of England might consistently think so; but they must allow Nonconformists to have their own deep conviction that no ecclesiastical arrangements, by any Church or any power, could be an attack upon the prerogative of the Crown, because, by their very existence as Nonconformists, they did protest that the prerogative of the Crown did not extend to matters ecclesiastical [cheers and noises]. This was no question of right as between Dissenters and Churchmen; but it was professed that the meeting was assembled as a united meeting of Protestants, yet the first resolution was such that no Nonconformist could vote for it without infringing the very principle of his dissent [great uproar]. He knew his own principles as a Nonconformist better than those who cried out, and he must be allowed to state them fairly. This Papal aggression put before the people a great religious question, in which he was entirely at one with the most devoted members of the Church of England. Some would entirely deprecate the introduction of religious questions, but to him the movement was very suggestive, as showing how the teaching of some in the Church was doing the work of Rome.

After some observations upon this point, which it was difficult to comprehend amid the noise that was going on, the speaker reverted to the resolution, and expressed a wish that some one would state plainly and simply in what way the prerogative of the Queen had been attacked by the Papal bull? Mr. Ald. Fawcett said by conferring English titles on the nominees of Rome, who owed allegiance to the sovereign of this country. Mr. Bubier resumed:—

These were ecclesiastical titles in a Church which we had tolerated; and the Bishop of Norwich said that toleration involved that we should permit the Roman Catholics such offices with such rank as they might think it necessary, in accordance with their ecclesiastical order, to appoint [hear, hear]. But it was objected that the titles were territorial. No principle was involved in the names given to the Bishops of Rome; if there was a competency to appoint bishops, the mere question of title involved no new principle. There was nothing in the business more respectable than jealousy, and as a Nonconformist he was not inclined to take part in a mere squabble about titles [hear, and hisses]. He knew not what was the attack on the powers of Parliament made by the letter of the Pope. Would some gentleman state, in few and simple words, what liberty was infringed, what legislative power was restricted? If he could get a fair answer to that question, instead of that world of senseless declamation—[a storm of hisses drowned the rest of the sentence, and for some minutes the room was a scene of disorder. It was long before the speaker was allowed to proceed]. He complained of being misinterpreted, and said he meant to express that instead of a clear answer to questions which might have tended to produce conviction, the general feeling was expressing itself in declamation ["senseless," and cries of "shame," &c.] Stop a moment—was expressing itself in declamation, which, wanting the answer, seemed to him senseless ["Oh, oh"]. Failing to get an idea as to what was the liberty that had been infringed—

Mr. Alderman Fawcett said that he felt he had been indirectly called upon to answer; but he was led to suppose that what he said was "senseless."

Mr. Bubier disclaimed the application of the term to Mr. Fawcett.

Mr. Ald. Fawcett was going to add that Mr. Bubier's former explanation of his meaning was satisfactory, and he was only waiting for a pause to answer his second question. He would suggest that Mr. Bubier was confounding prerogative with supremacy; but he (Mr. F.) never mentioned the word supremacy, because it would have been out of place in a mixed meeting. The powers of Parliament were to uphold the prerogative of the Crown and to enact laws.

Mr. Bubier:—Well, what did the rescript do to prevent Parliament from upholding the prerogative of the Crown or enacting laws?

Mr. Ald. Fawcett:—It violated the Act of 1829.

Mr. Bubier:—No, emphatically not [uproar]. The appointment of bishops by the Pope, without the consent of the Queen, and without sending the letter appointing them through the authorities of this country, was to be ascribed to the fact that we have no diplomatic relations with Rome. ["We don't want any, and won't have them."]

Mr. Ald. Fawcett said we had diplomatic relations with Rome, but the agent of Rome was not allowed to be a priest.

Mr. Bubier repeated that there was no representative of the Pope at this Court, and therefore we had in fact no diplomatic relations with Rome, and this was the simple reas on why the appointment was made without communication with English authorities. In his opposition to the resolution, he had introduced no question between Church and Dissent; he dealt with it simply as a question of the liberty which all had a right to enjoy to such ecclesiastical arrangements in their own Church as in their view the necessities of their Church required. In conclusion he proposed the following amendment:—

That this meeting is of opinion that any interference with the religious opinions, discipline, or ecclesiastical arrangements of any of her Majesty's subjects, would be a violation of the rights of conscience, and contrary to the principles of civil and religious liberty, and this meeting, therefore, protests against such interference.

Mr. George Cockerell, in seconding the amendment, warned his fellow-Dissenters not to be parties to this insertion of the thin end of the wedge; let them recollect the Acts to the passing of which they were parties in the days of James the Second, and which, though they were told that they were only intended to operate against Popery, were soon turned against the Dissenters, and had only been lately repealed. When the amendment was put, about a third of the meeting held up their hands for it. Mr. H. S. Foster moved, and Mr. Charles Balls seconded, the next resolution, calling for the speedy adoption of such legislative measures "as shall distinctly mark a firm determination to resist this proved usurpation of power; such measures, however, being in perfect consistency with the principles of civil and religious liberty." To this an amendment was moved by Mr. Henry Hall, "a Chartist orator," "That in the opinion of this meeting, the appointment of a Roman Catholic hierarchy does not require any legislative interference." He complained that the working classes had not been fairly appealed to on this question, and intimated what would be their probable decision when called upon to pronounce. He was seconded by Mr. Bradfield. The amendment was negatived, and Mr. Richard Foster proposed the address to the Queen.——At a public meeting of the inhabitants of the town of St. Ives, it was resolved, by an overwhelming majority, on the motion of Thomas Coates, Esq.—

That the principle of complete religious and political freedom for all subjects of the British Crown ought to be preserved inviolate; and though seriously apprehensive of the influence which may be acquired by the establishment of a Papal hierarchy in England, and regarding Romanism with intense disapprobation, this meeting is of opinion, that the recent appointment by the Roman Pontiff of an Archbishop with a provincial title, is ecclesiastic only; and that, therefore, the invocation of the civil power to restrain it is an error; the consequences of which those who commit themselves to may have cause to deprecate; the attempts of the Romanists to propagate their system ought to be, and must be opposed—not judicially—not by forceful interdicts—but by all the moral and religious means that Christianity and calm reason suggest.

——On Friday evening, the Dissenters of Stansfield, Sussex, held a meeting in the Independent Chapel, the Rev. T. Sowter, minister of the place, in the chair, when the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—Moved by Rev. Mr. Harris, seconded by Rev. Mr. Nicklin:—

That this meeting, according to every man the right to worship God agreeably to the dictates of his own conscience, would nevertheless deprecate the evils, the aims, and onward movements of Popery as being unfavourable to free inquiry in religious and general truth, and adverse to mental, social, civil, and religious freedom.

Moved by Mr. S. B. Johnson, seconded by Mr. W. Everard:—

That this meeting considers that the present operations of Popery in this country are traceable to the following sources:—to the semi-Popish principles and practices of a *large portion* of the clergy of the English Church—to the existence of a richly endowed Protestant Church, and to the conduct of our Government in patronizing, by endowments and otherwise, the Roman Catholics both in Ireland and the colonies.

Moved by Rev. J. Rutter, seconded by Rev. H. Coleman:—

That this meeting is of opinion that the most effectual means of repressing the movements of Popery are the diffusion of religious instruction among the young, the full exhibition of scriptural truth amongst all classes, and the entire withdrawment of all State grants, whether in favour of Popery, or of any other religious system.

——The Rev. B. Parsons, of Ebley, has delivered a very powerful lecture at the Town-hall, Wooton-under-Edge, on "The Civil and Ecclesiastical Tyranny of the Pope; the Popery of Lord John Russell and the Protestants—and the Supremacy of the Queen." The lecture was listened to throughout with the greatest attention, by a very large and respectable audience, who frequently testified, by applause, their sympathy with the rev. gentleman's views. After the lecture, a strong Anti state-church resolution was proposed by Mr. Handel Cossham, of Wickwar; and seconded by Mr. John White, of Wooton-under-edge, and carried with only one or two dissentient voices.——At Croydon, a disgracefully costly "demonstration of Protestant feeling" was made on Tuesday evening, and witnessed by eight or ten thousand people. A large procession was formed, consisting of seven men in armour, each having a battle-axe or a cross in his hand; a vast number of Romish priests, each couple being preceded by a number of men carrying flaming flambeaux; then came a similar muster of men dressed as monks, and some dozen other parties carrying burning links; these were succeeded by six men in the garb of gray friars, and a person wearing the costume of a sister of mercy, who was mounted on a jackass. The splendid band belonging to the Addiscombe cadets was interspersed at equal distances in the procession, whilst two vans followed in the rear, one containing a representation of the Pope, twelve feet high, and the other containing a likeness of his eminence the Cardinal, six feet in height. Large banners, nearly the width of the carriage-road, were borne by men, containing the following inscriptions:—"God save the Queen," "No Puseyism," "No Popery," "No mummeries," "England expects that this day every man will do his duty." Several hundred torch-bearers having joined the procession, it started towards the railway-station, and then passed through the principal thoroughfares to the extreme end of the town, and finally made for Duppas-hill, a piece of ground similar to Epsom race-course. In the middle of the hill, a gallows, thirty feet high, was erected, under and around which four thousand faggots were placed, and nearly one hundred tar barrels. The effigies of the Pope and Cardinal Wiseman were then hoisted into the air, whilst the shouting and clapping of hands was quite deafening. The band then struck up "God save the Queen," which was responded to by the many thousands present joining in the choruses. Some twenty or thirty men applied their burning links to the combustible matter under the two effigies, and in an instant afterwards a blaze shot forth that lighted up the country for miles round. In a very brief period the two figures became ignited, when one general cry of "bravo" echoed through the district. The effigies having been consumed, the band struck up "See the conquering hero comes." Some hundred pounds' worth of fireworks were afterwards discharged round the smouldering embers of his Holiness.

GREAT ANTI-STATE-CHURCH AND ANTI-PAPAL MEETING IN EDINBURGH.

(Abridged from the *Scotsman*.)

On Thursday night a public meeting, called by the Directors of the "Scottish Anti-state-church Association," was held in the Music-hall, "to take into consideration the duty of Dissenters at the present crisis." The admission was by ticket, and the hall was filled.

Previous to the meeting, the Directors of the Association, the parties who were to take part in the proceedings, and those invited to the platform, held a conference in the ante-room. At that private meeting, Mr. Duncan M'Laren said he had just had an opportunity of perusing the resolutions that were to be submitted to the meeting; and he must say, that he thought it would tend to compromise the position which they held as Dissenters, if they were to go forth to the public resting their cause on such resolutions. He objected to them, in the first place because they were too long and too much involved; and, in the next place, he objected to them because Popery, and almost nothing but Popery, ran through the whole of them. To amend them he thought would be impossible; and, as it was impossible at that time, being about five minutes to the hour at which the proceedings of the meeting were to commence, to draw up a set of new resolutions, he would suggest that the series submitted at a meeting of the Kilmarnock United Presbyterian Presbytery should be adopted in their stead. The opinions he had expressed were not held by himself alone, as he found, since entering the room, that every one with whom he had conversed entertained precisely the same views in regard to the resolutions. If the resolutions were to go in their present shape to the meeting, he must make his bow and leave. The Rev. J. R. Campbell said it was too late now to enter into Mr. M'Laren's proposition. The time was too limited to draw up new resolutions: and, as the speakers had all framed their speeches upon the resolutions as they at present stood, it would not be fair to these gentlemen to substitute for them the resolutions of the Kilmarnock Presbytery. He (Mr. Campbell) did not agree with all that was contained in the resolutions that were agreed to be submitted to the meeting; but he thought, on such an occasion, they ought all to take and give a little. The Rev. Dr. Johnstone, of Limekilns, said he agreed generally with the resolutions, and was prepared, for one, to go with them to the meeting. Mr. W. Duncan suggested a few alterations. These were confined chiefly to the softening down of some of the expressions used in reference to Popery. They were at once agreed to, and the matter then dropped. In connexion with the subject, we subjoin the following letter from Thomas

Russell, Esq., to Mr. W. Duncan, Vice-President of the Scottish Anti-state-church Association:—

Edinburgh, Dec. 18, 1850.

My Dear Sir,—I hereby resign being a director of the Scottish Anti-state-church Association. I have been induced to take this step chiefly because I cannot approve of the resolutions which have been adopted by the Association on the subject of the so-called Papal aggression, with a view of being submitted to the public meeting to-morrow. The evils of State-Churchism, as it appears to my mind, is the great lesson forced upon our attention by recent events. Dissenters, therefore, are peculiarly called upon at this juncture to denounce the alliance of Church and State as the prolific source of the fierce conflict now raging throughout the country. True Protestantism, or, in other words, Bible Christianity, has nothing to fear from Roman Catholicism, or any other form of religion, *so long as it is not backed by the civil power.* Let Christianity be freed from all magisterial interference or control—let her only have "a fair field and no favour," and she will be, as in the days of her pristine vigour, more than a match for all her foes. Such being my views, I cannot approve of the resolutions in question, inasmuch as the evils of Civil Establishments of religion are only incidentally adverted to, instead of occupying the prominent ground which, I conceive, they are entitled to hold. I am fortified in the opinion I have formed of the character of the resolutions from the fact, that some of the gentlemen who are to support them by their speeches to-morrow, have been hitherto publicly identified with the High Church party in relation to the present movement. I have the presumption to think that a sounder policy than that indicated by the resolutions will soon prevail. I am, &c.,

Thos. Russell.

P.S.—Since writing the above, I have learned that several members of committee sympathize with the views I have thus briefly expressed.—T. R.

Mr. William Duncan, S.S.C., was called to the chair; and the Rev. Dr. Brown, of Dalkeith, commenced the proceedings with prayer.

The Chairman in the course of his opening remarks, said:—

While they were not there for the purpose of advocating intolerant measures against Roman Catholics, or standing by the Queen's supremacy, or approving of the position of the English clergy, they were there calmly, deliberately, and with all the intelligence they could bring to bear upon the subject, to consider the nature and character of the Papal system in its religious and political aspects—the cause, the object, and the tendency of the present movement on the part of the Pope—the relation which Popery holds to the Government and people of this country—and the equity and political justice which exist for having this relation dissolved, in so far as the national funds either here or in the colonies are employed to support its seminaries, or its bishops, or its priests [cheers]—and while he said this, he felt bound to add that the same equity and political justice demanded to the same extent the dissolution of the relation subsisting between the State and every Protestant Church in the land [cheers].

The Chairman then read a note from the Rev. Dr. John Brown, which, after stating that he had been confined to bed for three days with an attack of lumbago, went on to say that it "never was of more importance that Protestant Dissenters should clearly see, and unequivocally avow, the position they occupy in reference to a great public question; and perhaps seldom has there occurred a more fit opportunity for pressing on the attention of the country and its rulers those principles and measures which can alone secure the interests of religious truth, civil freedom, and public tranquillity." It was also also stated that apologies had been received from the Rev. Dr. Alexander and from several members of the Town Council.

The Rev. Dr. Wardlaw, who was received with applause, then moved the first resolution, which was as follows:—

That the Church's accepting of civil sanction and endowment, and thus submitting to civil control, in the beginning of the fourth century, as it indicated a departure from Apostolic purity and simplicity, led to still grosser abuses and corruptions, so as in no long time to enable the pontiffs of Rome to rear a system of mixed rule, exhibiting the union of Church and State in one of its worst forms; and has been, during fifteen centuries, and continues to be, directly and indirectly, productive, to an immeasurable extent, of misgovernment, war, persecution, and obstruction to the progress of Christianity, and the advancement of civilization.

He said he delighted in taking common ground with his fellow-Protestants, when, as on the present occasion, such ground could be taken without any compromise of his own principles. But he could not see why that should prevent them from taking their own peculiar ground at the same time. Why not both? Was it not right that they should endeavour to free themselves, as a people, from the Popery of Protestantism, that thus their Protestantism might be the purer and their security from Popery the firmer? [applause] He would not be guilty of an injustice so palpable as to place the two systems on a level; but still there was a principle common to both—namely, the Church and State Union principle [hear, hear]. To his mind the Papal aggression should be viewed as embracing both the secular and the spiritual. The Pope wanted back the power he lost, and that power was supremacy, both secular and spiritual, over king and people. And who can doubt that he aimed at having the crown under his feet, as well as the tiara on his brow? [cheers.] Shall he have his aim? Protestant England and Scotland united in saying, with a voice of thunder, No! [loud applause.] One of the means by which they would seek to effect their purpose was to do away with the principle of spiritual supremacy altogether [hear, hear]. Let them not be charged with seeking to rob the British Crown of one of its jewels when they thus avowed their desire to cancel the spiritual supremacy. If they sought to displace this jewel from the British Crown, let her Majesty give them credit for saying that it was only to restore it whence it should never have been withdrawn—the crown of the King of kings [cheers]. It was got from the Pope—it was worthy of Popery, but it was not worthy of Protestantism [hear]. With regard to the present movement, there was the contrast of an extreme alarm to an extreme indifference. He believed the former was far the safer. No man who knew its history would believe that Popery was altered or modified; for it had ever vaunted its infallibility and perfection. As to the light of the 19th century he was not without confidence; but when he considered the tactics of Rome it was not such a confidence as amounted to actual security [hear]. Let them do away with royal supremacy, and Court favour, and civil distinction, and the lure to ambition was gone—let them do away with State endowments, and the bait for covetousness was gone. They would thus far effect a most desirable end, the shutting out of the world from the Church. Let all forms and professions of religion be placed on the same footing—[cheers]—and with this let them have religious equality—a free Bible—a free church—a free purse—a free tongue—a free pen—and a free press, and Pope, Bishops, and Cardinals, might do their worst [great cheering].

The Rev. Mr. M'Gavin, of Dundee, seconded the resolution in a long and able speech. He held that truth was impregnable when defended by its own weapons; and that, seeking no favour for themselves, they scorned to seek the infliction of any civil wrong on their Roman Catholic brethren.

The Rev. J. R. Campbell, of Albany-street Chapel, then moved the next resolution as follows:—

That Popery, from its errors, superstition, and tyranny, is most injurious to the religious, civil, and moral interests of a community; and that whatever indicates its progress must excite deep regret and serious alarm in every enlightened friend of religion, morality, or freedom.

Councillor Gray seconded the resolution, which was cordially adopted.

The Rev. Dr. Johnstone (Limekilns) moved the next resolution:—

That this meeting cannot but regard the recent division of England, by the Pope, into episcopal sees, and the appointment of a cardinal archbishop and bishops, with territorial districts and local titles, which has excited such general indignation, as the natural result of the arrogant and engrossing spirit of the Papal system, encouraged and misled by the countenance given by a portion of the Church of England to the principles and practices of the Church of Rome—by the British Parliament's liberal endowment of a seminary for the education of Popish priests—as civil rank—and especially by the disposition manifested by members of the Government to grant endowments to the Popish Church, and even to give a place in the House of Lords to representatives of their hierarchy.

He said the question before the meeting was not whether the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church were true or false, neither was it whether Roman Catholics should be allowed to preach and teach their dogmas, however pernicious and false they, as Protestants, believed them to be. No one had directly proposed to repeal the Toleration Act; and he would hope there was no serious intention, in any quarter, to interfere with the perfect liberty to which all were entitled of maintaining and spreading their religious opinions. Some things, however, had been uttered, the echoes of which were yet lingering about the corners of this hall; and some things have been written (as witness the letter of Lord Winchelsea) which were rather ominous, as if it might be necessary to check by the strong arm of the magistrate the progress of heresy; but he could not persuade himself that there was anywhere a deliberate intention to resort to such weapons. The question was not whether, if Popery were to gain the ascendency, our civil liberties would be imperilled, and the sword of persecution again drawn. On these points neither the past history of this system, nor its present procedure in those countries where it enjoyed power, permitted us to entertain any doubt. But, then, persecution inheres in all churches that are allied to the State, and the extent to which it is carried depends, not on the tender mercies of the dominant Church, but on the spirit of the age, the condition of society, and the numbers and power of Dissenters [loud cheers]. The question was not whether the Pope should be allowed to divide England into districts, and appoint ecclesiastics to superintend them. For a century and a half he had been allowed, without outcry or opposition, to divide England into four districts, more recently into eight, and Scotland into three, and to appoint bishops, deriving their titles from distant and infidel cities, to bear rule in each of these districts. Once more, the question was not whether the Queen's ecclesiastical supremacy has been invaded. Whether the Pope or the Queen be supreme head of the Church was a dispute in which, as Protestant Dissenters, they could take no part. What, then, was the matter in dispute? Is it this—Whether the Pope shall be permitted to divide England into twelve districts instead of eight, instead of calling them districts to call them dioceses, and to give titles to the bishops he appoints from places within the dioceses instead of from places in Asia-Minor or Palestine? If this be the sole matter in dispute, it certainly does not, at first view, appear to be of great importance, or to warrant the alarm and agitation which it has excited [cheers]. Are not all religious parties permitted to take to themselves such titles or to call themselves by such names as they please? Do not other churches act in the same manner? The Free Church pronounces itself to be the Church of Scotland, and divides Scotland, not into districts, but into parishes, presbyteries, and synods, giving to each of these the names already appropriated to the Established Church. The United Presbyterian Church claimed, when its ministers were but four, "to be the Church of Scotland." It, too, divides the country into districts, gives to its ministers local designations, and sets up its courts for the trial of ecclesiastical causes. Besides, we have among us an Episcopal Church which holds Presbyterian orders to be no orders, divides Scotland into sees, sets over them bishops with local titles, and invests them with full spiritual powers and jurisdiction. It should ever be remembered that there is a wide difference between a bishop nominated by the Queen and one nominated by the Pope [hear, hear]. When the Queen appoints a bishop, she appoints one who shall "tythe and toll," who shall reside in a palace, who shall enjoy a princely revenue, and shall raise his mitred head in Court and Parliament. The Pope may appoint a bishop, but, alas! he can neither "tythe nor toll;" if he reside in a palace, his flock must build it; if he enjoy a princely revenue, his flock must furnish it; and if he appear at Court, or in Parliament, it must be by the summons of the Sovereign or of the nation [applause]. At an early period of the Reformation in Scotland, it was ruled that, during the minority of the Sovereign, bishops should be allowed to continue in the Church, and that no change should be made in the extent of their dioceses. There were only two small matters in which they differed from the old bishops. The one was, that they did not possess their revenues, the nobility having seized upon the Church lands and revenues. Our forefathers called these bishops Tulchan Bishops. A "tulchan" is a calf skin stuffed with straw, set up to make the cow give her milk more freely [great laughter]. So it is in this case. The Queen's bishops are palatial, princely, and Parliamentary bishops. The Pope's bishops are but Tulchan Bishops—calf-skin and straw bishops—figures set up to make the cow give her milk more freely [great laughter]. Should an attempt be made to prohibit, by a penal statute, the setting up of these Tulchans, the result will be as it has ever been in such cases. Henry VIII. not only erased the name of the Pope from the mass-book, but also forbade its introduction into any new book that might be printed in his dominions, and enjoined that it should be carefully blotted out of every old book that was sold. "As if," adds the historian Hume, "such precaution could abolish the name from the language, or as if such persecution did not imprint it more strongly in the memory of the people" [cheers]. Forbid by statute that Nicholas Wiseman shall be called Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, or that Dr. Ullathorne shall be called Bishop of Birmingham, and you but imprint these titles in the memories of their people, and make them tenfold more a cardinal and a bishop [loud cheers]. Is there, then, no cause whatever for alarm? and can no good reason be assigned for the irritation and tumult which this proceeding has occasioned? Far was he from thinking that there is no cause for alarm in the aggressive movements of Popery, and most anxious was he that, instead of being engrossed with mere leather and prunella of the matter, the attention of the community should be fixed upon its real significance. There was cause for alarm [hear, hear]. There was cause for alarm in the ignorance of large masses of the population, both in our manufacturing towns and rural districts, for Popery was the religion of ignorance. There was also cause for alarm in the Tractarianism of a considerable portion of the clergy of the Church of England. If the Queen and the Government permit persons who are Papists in all but the name, to remain in the Church of England, and to minister at her altars, their opposition to Cardinal Wiseman and his suffragans will prove only a delusion, a mockery, and a snare [loud cheers]. But more than this must be done; the evil must be traced to its source, the fountain must be purified. Oxford and Cambridge must be rendered national institutions. The government of them must no longer be handed over to ecclesiastics, under whose management they have become nurseries of Romanism, intolerance, and bigotry; and means must be found to throw open to all classes the advantages which these seats of learning are capable of imparting [continued applause]. Once more, there is cause for alarm in the well-known disposition of the leading statesmen of this country to endow Popery. The Rev. Doctor, in proof of this, made several quotations from the speeches of Lord John Russell, Sir George Grey, Lord Monteagle, &c., after which he went on to say that what was needed was that the country should constrain the Government, and statesmen of all classes, to retrace their steps and renounce for ever the project of endowing the Roman Catholic Church, and not the Roman Catholic Church only, but any church or party whatsoever [tremendous cheering].

The Rev. Andrew Thomson, on rising to second the resolution, was received with mingled hisses and cheers, and cries of "Traitor," "Turn-coat," &c. He said he looked on this Papal bull, however lightly some might be disposed to view it in some of its aspects, as part of a grand system of aggression on the part of Popery for extension and aggrandisement in this country; and he was persuaded that, had the Protestant Dissenters of the country been found sleeping on the present occasion, they would soon have had other steps of aggression more alarming [cheers]. They must tell the Government, that British gold was not to be prostituted to the support of such a system; and they must tell Lord John Russell, that they accepted the noble letter of his as covering to some extent a multitude of past sins. [Loud cries of "No, no," from the platform, and mingled hisses and cheers from the audience, which interrupted the speaker for several minutes.] He presumed he had been misunderstood. His meaning was, that they accepted that letter principally as a pledge on the part of Lord John Russell that he was determined now to reverse the steps he had already taken [hear, and cheers], and that he was resolved to give them that truest evidence of sincere penitence, by reversing the steps he had already taken, and to acknowledge the world-wide distinction between protecting Roman Catholics on the one hand, which they approved, and pampering and fostering Popery on the other [cheers].

When the Chairman put the resolution to the meeting, Dr. William Glover (the Chartist) rose to move an amendment, the object of which was not distinctly heard; and he persisted in reading it against the loud murmurs of the audience, when the Chairman put it to the meeting if he should be any longer heard, and as they decided in the negative, and as Dr. Glover refused to yield, the police were called to eject him from the meeting, which they did. The resolution was then declared to be carried.

The Rev. Dr. Young, of Perth, then moved the following resolution, which he supported in a speech of some length:—

That this meeting is persuaded that the only appropriate and effective means for counteracting Popery, as a system of error and superstition opposed to the word of God, are the preaching of the gospel—the circulation of the Holy Scriptures—the securing of a sound education to all classes—and the emancipation of such churches in these lands as have been subjected to debasement and bondage by connexion with the State; can take no part in calling on the Crown to exercise the spiritual supremacy—a prerogative which, in their estimation, interferes with a divine right, and the exercise of which the law of toleration happily confines to that denomination of Christians in England who have bartered their freedom for State support; and deprecates any legislative or legal interference with the liberty which every sect ought to enjoy of expressing their religious opinions and convictions, and of conducting their religious worship and administration, so long as they are not guilty of encroaching on the civil and religious liberties of others, which, being a civil offence, should be met wherever it occurs by a suitable civil penalty.

Mr. James Peddie, W.S., seconded the resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

The Rev. Mr. Steedman, of Stirling, moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Dunlop, of Brockloch:—

That, adoring the beneficent wisdom which educes good from

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CORRESPONDENCE.

THE PAPAL AGGRESSION.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

Dear Sir,—The state of my health, even were I ever so disposed, forbids me to attempt any lengthened notice of the first article in the *Nonconformist* of yesterday, headed, "More Last Words." Indeed, it is obvious that we are in danger of merging the general features of the great subject in dispute, and giving to it a merely personal air, and so divesting the topic of all interest in the public mind. I have read very carefully, and with all candour, the article alluded to, and think it, with all deference, replete with fallacies. It has not, therefore, altered any opinion or sentiment I have entertained or expressed on the question to which it relates. As to the line of argument in my letter, it appears to me to remain unbroken. It was a device of the Sophists, to put all sorts of hypothetical meanings on the position advanced by an opponent, for the purpose of diverting attention from the simple point in debate—an art which many polemics of more modern time have turned to good account. Though you, Mr. Editor, are not a disciple of this school, yet in the present instance you remind one of it. In the only paragraph of your lengthened article of which I shall take notice—not because I think it the most vulnerable, but, rather, the most strange—you affect a perfect ignorance of what is meant by the statement, "that it is the sole prerogative of the Queen to confer *such* distinctions in these realms." Your straightforward readers, unentangled in the meshes of logical subtleties, would understand the reference to be to such distinctions as relate to the question in dispute; namely, national titles and dignities. That you should so far forget what is due to your position and to the understandings of your readers, as to attempt to confound these distinctions with those which may obtain through etiquette, courtesy, or convenience, in the great social economy, is to me painfully surprising. The Nonconforming ministers in this country ask no distinctions at the royal hands, and attach no more weight to the title accorded by custom to them in their high vocation, than those who may affect to despise them. They, I speak of them as a body, live far above the reach of the vulgar sneer, or of the more refined taunt. In the language of Robert Hall, "true merit will draw lustre from reproach," and on them while faithful to their trust, "the poisoned arrow will fall pointless." Any attempt to associate them before the public eye, however covertly, with the arrogant assumptions of priestly usurpers, may pander to low and licentious tastes, but cannot fail to give offence to every honourable mind. You cite such cases as the Bishop of St. Andrews, and the Bishop of Glasgow, and oddly enough would argue, that inasmuch as these officers do not exist by royal appointment, that it is not the sole prerogative of the Queen to confer titles in these realms. There may be reasons why these offices should be permitted, and even sanctioned, without an express exercise of the royal prerogative, and without giving the slightest pretext to the strange and preposterous inference, that *therefore* the Pope of Rome or any foreign potentate has, without consulting the authorities of the land, a right to institute titles with territorial jurisdiction in this realm! As to distinctions already conferred by the Pope in Ireland or elsewhere, by permission of, or without interruption from, the governing powers, what of this? If politicians and statesmen, to compass their designs, have allowed violations of the Queen's prerogative in past instances, does that supersede that prerogative, and render it either absurd or unjust for a great people to fall back upon it, when in their estimation the encroachments of a foreign power are threatening the peace and setting at naught the laws of the land? Because Sir Robert Peel or Lord John Russell may have done wrong in Ireland, is that any reason why we should all do wrong in England? The Ministers of the Crown have taken Roman Catholicism into alliance with the State in some of our colonies, is that any argument why they should do the same at home?

Divesting this aspect of the general subject of all extraneous encumbrances, I ask, without circumlocution or affected niceties—

1. Whether it is, or whether it is not, the sole prerogative of the Queen (as contradistinguished from all foreign potentates whatever) to confer such titles as those with which the Pope of Rome has, without leave or consent, invested his representative in these realms?

2. Whether, if it be the sole prerogative of the Queen to confer such distinctions, the Pope of Rome, as a foreign power, has, or has not, in this instance invaded that prerogative?

3. Whether the alleged insignificance of the overt act, founded on the assumed indifference of all such distinctions, can, with any propriety, either in logic or in loyalty, be put in bar of the violation of the great principle involved?

4. Whether, if such violation of the Queen's prerogative has been committed, the people of England, especially in view of the ultimate end sought by such violation, are not required indignantly to protest against it?

I will here venture, Mr. Editor, one remark, viz., that if there should be found among your readers those who may choose to think lightly of the prerogatives of the Queen, an ordinary acquaintance with men and things will justify the inference, that they are precisely those persons who would be most tenacious of their own.

On a superficial view of the matter, the differences on this great question which obtain in the Nonconforming community may appear unimportant, but I confess in looking thoughtfully upon the scene, I begin to think that they are full of significance and ominous of unexpected results.

A deeper chasm yawns between us, my dear Sir, than logomachies, ingenuities, or sophisms can fill up. An intelligent observer might well admonish us, as Nonconformists, to study, and to seek to agree on, some common principles of action before we pretend to meddle with those of others. Different principles on a great and vital question are laid down, perfectly distinct premises assumed, diametrically opposite courses recommended, and the most antipodal results anticipated by men of avowedly common fellowship of thought and action. This is a mystery. There is profound meaning in it. Time may solve it, but strange changes may attend its solution.

In closing, as I hope, with these few lines, my correspondence with you, Mr. Editor, on this subject, allow me to say that it will give me pleasure to unite with any and with all our Protestant fellow-subjects, in calling on our beloved Queen to defend her person and her realm from the usurpation of any foreign power, whatever disguise it assumes. I am, yours sincerely,

Thursday, Dec. 19, 1850. J. P. Mursell.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

Dear Sir,—I am getting very angry with you, and if the flames of my wrath do not reach you, take care they don't scorch the *Nonconformist*. What, and has it come to this? The Pope to find an apologist in Mr. Miall! They say the Jesuits are getting in everywhere, surely one has not got among your types.

You have shown, beyond all "lingering of doubt," that a State Church is a monstrous iniquity. Of all forms it has assumed in Europe, the Popish is the worst. Now, if the Episcopal form is bad, surely the Popish is no better.

Now don't take sides with this "mother of harlots;" she is as wicked as sin and the devil can make her. In blackening the Bishop's Church, you, in effect, whiten the Pope's. They are both black alike, though not alike black, and ought to be taken to the place from whence they came, and there ——.

When the wrongs of the slave awoke the cry for his emancipation, numbers cried, "Oh! the white slave." When the Anti-corn-law League offered the people cheap bread, "machinery is the evil," said many. Now, don't place anything between the accursed system of Rome and a nation's rebuke. The public mind has got for once into the right channel. It is a golden opportunity; take advantage of it. Never was the nation and Church-people such willing hearers on the evils of a State Church. Lord Ashley, even, would "rather worship with Lydia on the banks of the river, than in St. Barnabas's Temple with a hundred surpliced priests."

Give up stroking our Dissenting hair down, and quieting our fears, and telling us to be good children. We won't! The very smell of the Pope's bull is enough. Now just listen to me for a moment, and hear how I reason. Black prelacy and black Popery are both black, and two blacks never made a white yet. Now suppose this second black comes, will it make the first any better? or suppose they act as rivals, out of two evils can you ever make a good? or supposing they agreed to divide the spoils between them, or the State chose to stand on two legs rather than one, and so place us between the fire of St. Paul's and St. Peter's, what better should we be? You talk of the Popish aggression as "spiritual." Do call things by their right names. Take away the temporal, and where is the spiritual? Just as much as in the horns and hoofs of a Roman bull; and no more. In the overflowings of your charity you say Popery presents no "new phase" under this new move: only the slight difference of Popery in England and making England Popish; that's all.

The apostle supposes that sin does exist, but denounces its having the *dominion*. I can do with Popery as a passenger on board the ship, but when it asks the helm I say, No, thank you!

Under vicars apostolic Popery exists in England as an exotic—but it requires the Canon Law, and a hierarchy, to make it indigenous; and we are asked to stand by, mild as a melon, while those Italian gents with red stockings plant this upas tree, under whose deadly shade everything perishes. Indeed!

But it is said, these things are necessary to full-blown Popery, and you infringe on the rights of your Catholic fellow-subjects. I don't want to do so; what I ask for myself, I grant to others. But will Popery, in the plenitude of its power, grant me equal liberty with itself?—that's the question. *Now* it cannot help itself. But to deny what is a necessary part of any man's religion is an injustice; then it was very naughty in our rulers to put down the burning of widows, and the destruction of parents and children in the Ganges—they were necessary parts of Hindooism. As long as religion is spiritual only, let it move free as the winds; but, when it invades human life and liberty, *my rights* I place as a fence to its encroachments, and claim the right, as Paul did, of citizenship.

You say the mere shadow of Dr. Wiseman frightens the half of the Dissenters out of "confidence in their Protestantism." No, indeed! But if Popery and liberty cannot co-exist, it is manifestly the duty of every man, not as a Protestant simply, but as a liberal, to preserve inalienable his birthright liberty.

Popery, as it never was spiritual, cannot be liberal; and, therefore, as it cannot come in the former character, it is dangerous in the latter.

Now, Mr. Editor, give up schooling and scolding us into good manners towards this mother of harlots, we won't have her. She has the brand of heaven on her forehead. Her history is written in blood, and two of her noble lovers, the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Beaumont, say her coming here would be inconsistent with the rights and liberties of Englishmen, and the prerogatives of the Queen of these realms. Should you still flourish your editorial wand over our heads, and tell us it is all moonshine and a ghost story, by the blessed big toe of the Pope and the nail thereof, if I don't take you on a pop visit to the Inquisition, or to the Pope's cells in Rome, and when you see liberty immured and in tears before you in those horrid dungeons, you'll come back with the horrors I know.

As, in duty bound, yours,

James the Less.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

Dear Sir,—The stir occasioned by the resuscitation in this county of Romish Episcopacy in its complete form, has become more calm, though it must not be expected to subside before Parliament has assembled, and it is seen what "the powers that be" intend to do. And now that the first violent ebullition is over, we can calculate, with some precision, its real import; which appears to be this—the Romanism in any form, and in every degree, is deeply distasteful to the English. So far forth as this has been made clear, no one can regret that this agitation has arisen; but most of your readers, with yourself, sir, must regret that Dissenters should, in so many instances, have been misled into such a forgetfulness of their peculiar principles, as to join with the officers and members of the State Church in invoking exercise of legislative authority against the newly-made bishops.

Yet it cannot be doubted that if, before the commotion has wholly ceased, and things assume their wonted air of tranquil indifference, any plan for repressing their rooted abhorrence of the Papal system, and aiming by legitimate means at its complete overthrow, should be proposed, all who have intelligently taken up the position of Dissent, would gladly avail themselves of it and renounce the forbidden and unholy means which they have here and there too hastily resorted to.

Mr. Childs' letter, in your last number, seems to point out such a plan, and I beg leave to suggest it "in rough" (as it were), hoping that it will be taken up and matured by others.

The case stands thus:—thousands upon thousands of our fellow-countrymen have not the Bible; in consequence of this want Romanism thrives; an adequate supply of the Scriptures to the people would deprive both Romanist and Romanizing priests of the very material of their late undoubted success; and the abolition of the Bible monopoly would secure such a supply.

I do not think it needful to urge the essential injustice of this monopoly; that is seen and admitted by all. Nor would I direct attention to cheapness (though that cannot be assured, except by the destruction of the exclusive right of the royal patentee)—but to numbers; it being most remarkably the fact, in the case of the Bible, that, instead of the demand regulating the supply, the more are printed, the more are sold. Nor is it necessary to insist upon the fact, which recent events in Italy have made flagrant, rather than patent—that Romanism cannot prosper when every one has the Holy Scriptures in his hand. The particulars of this statement of the case cannot be controverted.

Now I would suggest that every one who feels bound to deliver his testimony against Romanism (and this obligation ought to be felt by all who know the truth of the Bible), should, either individually, or conjointly with his neighbours and associates, petition either her Majesty, or the Parliament, for the entire and immediate abolition of the injurious restriction on the printing of the Sacred Scriptures, imposed by the letters patent granted to her Majesty's printers.

Such petitions would be the purest expression of Dissent possible; they would directly, and in a truthful manner, attack the false system which the agitation seeks to destroy; and to have the Bible free in England would be a noble monument of a period of unparalleled excitement, which up to this moment seems likely to be commemorated by what our children, and our children's children, must regard with unutterable disgust.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

A Dissenter.

London, 21st Dec. 1850.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

Dear Sir,—Among the many things which have been said about what is called "Papal aggression," I have nowhere seen noticed a distinction which yet seems to me to be of use in determining the duty of Dissenters in reference to the matter. The term *bishop* is not a title of honour, but a title of office; it does not properly describe the rank of the person so called, but points out his function in the church. It is only as the result of State-churchism, and in connexion with State churches, that it is armed with secular authority, or invested with secular rank. Whilst, therefore, those who advocate State churches, and those whose ideas of religion are tinctured with State-churchism, may naturally be expected to memorialize the Queen to allow no one but herself to confer *titles of honour* in this country, those who repudiate the establishment of religion, and who wish to liberate, not only religion, but religious notions, from the galling influence of State bondage, are no more called upon to "take action," or to "resent the insult," than if two town missionaries of different denominations were each to insist on being called "*the missionary*" of St. Giles or Bethnal Green.

I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

Philip Groser.

Edinburgh, December 20th, 1850.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

Sir,—Being one of that not very large number of individuals who call a spade a spade, I take the liberty of addressing you, to congratulate and thank you for the fact that the *Nonconformist* has not been frightened out of its propriety by the sudden alarm which has so generally fallen on the gentlemen of the press, and on the public in general, from the Prime Minister downwards.

John Bull appears to have lost all faith (I hope only temporarily) in the principle he so often professess, in various ways, that Popery is to be opposed properly by giving the Bible free course, and not by calling in the secular arm; and I am especially astonished that Protestant Dissenters even appear for the moment to have forgotten this principle.

John Bull professes that all parts of the British dominions deserve the same protection from the Government, and their inhabitants enjoy the same rights: how does he carry out this principle? He quietly allows the Government to recognise the rank of the Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland, to give them precedence, and right of inspection in educational institutions; while in the colonies he not only recognises their rank and titles, but also pays them public money annually; and said nothing while his Government actually attempted to endow them permanently, by prohibiting the Colonists from ever withdrawing the grants! (a tyrannical attempt which I hope and believe the Colonists will know how to deal with when they get their constitutions in full working order.) Then, what harm can result from allowing Romanist bishops some of these privileges in England? or, if hurtful here, why allow these things in Ireland and the colonies?

If John Bull had long ago expelled the Jesuits from the United Kingdom and the colonies, that would not have been persecution of the Roman Catholic religion, because all the Popish countries in the world have done the same more than once, on account of the Jesuits constantly aiming at universal dominion, and endeavouring to establish an *imperium in imperio*, showing themselves thus to be enemies of the human race everywhere and always.

If John Bull had prohibited convents and nunneries in the British dominions, as hurtful to the body politic, as well as to morals, that would not have been persecution of the Romanists, because many Roman Catholic countries, seeing and feeling their evils, have abolished them, and put their property in the public treasury for

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"A Bury St. Edmond's Dissenter," "James Proud," "A Correspondent at Ludlow," and "Amos Dyson," are cordially thanked for their communications, of which, however, we could not, even if permitted by the writers, make use this week, for want of space.

"W. S. Adams," next week, in some shape.

"An Anti-state Churchman."—We thank him for the information—but is it a novelty? and would not his letter subject us to an advertisement duty?

"John Pulny Hall."—We will turn over his suggestion.

"John Fraser."—We intend to urge that point.

"No go."—Next week.

"Geo. Epps." The recipt of 10s. for the Hesse-Cassel Officers, should have been acknowledged in our last.

The Nonconformist.

LONDON: TUESDAY, DEC. 24, 1850.

SUMMARY.

WE shall not trouble our readers—such at least is the hope with which we begin—with any very lengthened Summary this week. Most of them will receive the present number of the *Nonconformist* on Christmas morning, and will, perhaps, be less disposed than usual to give attention to political affairs. Moreover, the events of the week have been few, and not very striking—and although, at another time, they might furnish matter enough for pertinent comment, they are, for the most part, of a character which would probably lead to observations which could hardly be made to chime in harmoniously with the spirit of social kindliness which the day very generally awakens. Hence, we start with a resolve—may we be able to abide by it—to be "short and sweet."

The Papal agitation has turned up a novelty or two worth notice. For instance, Sir Edward Sugden has discovered that although the law connives at free communication with Rome by the Papal Church in this country, the offence of *promulgating* the Pope's bull within the four seas is punishable. The mischief is, that the same statute which denounces the offence is shorn of all its penal clauses—so that although the crime is punishable, law does not declare what the punishment shall be. Probably, the Crown officers knew well enough how the matter stood—and declined prosecuting in a case in which conviction would leave them without efficient remedy. A correspondent of our own, too, has suggested, that it belongs not to her Majesty's prerogative to appoint bishops, except to existing and legally-recognised sees—and that to create new sees is the right of Parliament alone. It is clear, therefore, that the appointment of an Archbishop of Westminster cannot be an infringement of the Queen's right, inasmuch as the Queen possesses no right to appoint such a dignitary.

Several meetings have been held in different parts of the country, in which an expression of what *we* regard as the reasonable side of this question has been heard, and, in some instances, not in vain. To begin with the noble meeting at Edinburgh, for noble we must call it, on account of the speeches delivered there, spite of the clash between the tone of some of the resolutions, and the neutral basis of the Scottish Anti-state-church Association, who convened it. It is fitting to denounce Popery at this crisis—but it is not fitting to make the Association responsible for such denunciations. *Its* object is not to say what is truth or what is error, but what shall be their common relation to the State. This flaw at the foundation of the meeting placed every speaker at considerable disadvantage. Some evidently felt it, and were awkward—others boldly disregarded it, and threw over in their addresses what was contained in their resolutions. The tone of the meeting, however, was Anti-state-church and "no mistake"—and had the meeting been convened by Protestant Dissenters merely as such, and not by the Committee of an Association having a specified object, no fault could have been found with it. We are happy to observe that, substantially, most of the speakers took a similar view to that supported by ourselves, and, we learn from the *Scottish Press*, that they were cheered to the echo. At Cambridge we observe Mr. Bubier maintaining with great ability the same ground, and obtaining the suffrages of a third part of the meeting—and at Harborough, although crowds of Churchmen flocked to the meeting at clerical summons, resolutions similar to those adopted at Kettering were triumphantly carried. Before we conclude, we would direct attention to the series of resolutions passed by the Congregational church assembling in Albion Chapel, Hull, under the pastoral superintendence of the Rev. Newman Hall. In the main, they are excellent. Nor must we omit to notice with commendation a letter of Sharman Crawford, Esq., M.P., to his constituentst.

A word or two now, on a matter in which we take a livelier interest. Our advertising columns of this day set forth a plan of the British Anti-state-church Association, for extending the publication department of their labours, and appeal to the special liberality of the society's friends for starting it as such a project should be started—with a determination to make it successful. We shall probably take occasion, next week, to comment a little at length on this most important feature of the Association's enterprise, upon which, we confess, we place great reliance. At present we shall do no more than invoke for it the earnest attention of our friends, and stimulate their liberality by pointing them to the splendid examples of it the Committee are able already to place before them.

Fancy, good reader, if you can—fancy Richard Cobden, one of the most active advocates of peace, fighting a duel! You cannot—then imagine him answering a challenge. Mr. Bright, at the Birmingham Peace meeting, illustrated the superstitious fear of invasion by France, by adverting to the evidence of Sir T. Hastings before a Committee of the House of Commons, in which that gallant admiral, after much pressing, gave as his reason for attributing hostile intentions to the French people, a remark made, in passing, by the Bishop of Japan. Sir Thomas was piqued, and wrote to Mr. Bright for his authority for the assertion. Mr. Bright referred to Mr. Cobden, with whom a correspondence ensued on the same subject. The end of it was that Mr. Cobden received a formal challenge, and sent a not very formal, but highly amusing reply. Some of the journals, we see, unable to save the Admiral from the ridicule brought upon him by his own fiery temper, read the friends of Peace a solemn lecture on the importance of carefulness in their expressions. The hint may be a useful one—but we do not see its peculiar relevancy to the present case. Mr. Bright's allusion could not be meant in malice, and, if left unnoticed by Sir T. Hastings, would have been recollected, as a personal matter, by no one after a week's interval. The gallant admiral became over excited, and, as is usually the case, rushed on from bad to worse. He would, doubtless, rather have stood Mr. Cobden's fire, than have received a stroke from Mr. Cobden's pen. We rejoice to see the barbarous practice of duelling dealt with, by a leading man of the age, as it deserves—laughed at as ineffable folly.

Foreign news supplies nothing very noticeable, except increasing probabilities of, and guarantees for, peace.

CHRISTMAS.

WE give a right hearty welcome to Christmas! We invoke all suitable blessings on his frost-besprinkled head! We love to see that hard countenance of his relaxing into genial smiles, and to mark how, from beneath those brows o'erhung with shaggy icicles, the spirit of kindliness looks forth, and playfully invites to affectionate confidence. We delight in the tones of his voice, bluff and boisterous as sometimes they are, or sharp and ringing, as at the present season—for he speaks like one whose sympathies are with domestic life, and whose very rudeness has a touch in it of tenderness and pathos. Welcome, old Christmas—the tutelary genius of family festivity! Thou art come, as in olden times, with thy winter-dress upon thee, wearing a pure white mantle of hoar-frost, decorated with fantastic ornaments of glittering ice, and with a brow as open and cheerful as may consist with thy temperament and age! We shake hands with thee, honest and homely old man, as with one whose visits always enliven our circle, and, but for our own fault, always do us good! Come in, and abide with us for a short season! Bring with thee all the lively sympathies of domestic enjoyment, all the lovely charities of the Christian faith! Come, be our guest awhile! Charm us out of our unnecessary cares! Revive in us all affectionate emotions! Light up in our hearts, or revive there, the fire of bygone friendships! Whisper into our ears chastening recollections of the past! And raise us by befitting gladness to a renewed strength for battling with the difficulties of life, and for performing all the duties that shall devolve upon us throughout the coming year!

Christmas! As an ecclesiastical festivity, we know it not, we observe it not, for it places human authority where that of God alone can be recognised by us, and substitutes for scriptural principles Church laws and appointments. Our Nonconformity repudiates all the inventions of man, even when comely in themselves, which bear upon them the impress of ecclesiastical usurpation. We deem it a duty to enter our protest, in an active form, both against the false principle involved in Church legislation, and the superstitions which lurk beneath Church-commanded observances. We cannot but remember that they are the lingering remnants of Popery, and that their practical tendency has been, and is, to entice the heart from the pure simplicity of the gospel. There is always danger enough lest the religion of faith and love, of righteousness, and peace, and joy, should sink down into an affair of mere sentiment and fancy, and there is no need to call in the aid of special public services, and appropriate anthems, and hangings of the holly-bush, to give increased force to this natural tendency. When the exercises of religion are more or less converted into a spectacle for the gratification of taste, the truly spiritual character of it is very easily, and almost insensibly, lost sight of; and thousands of men are religious, according to their notions, on Christmas-day and Good Friday, to whom religion is a stranger on every other day of the year. For these reasons, among others, we can give no semblance of recognition to Christmas-day as *sacred*. We rejoice in it as a holiday to all classes—we renounce it as a Church-appointed festival.

Christmas! Regarded socially, we hail it as one of the best relics handed down to us from the past. Doubtless many abuse it, and pay that homage at the shrine of sensuality which ought to have been reserved for pure domestic affection. But the abuse of it is no good argument against its use. The reunion of family circles under one roof—the gladness which on such occasions thaws, like sunshine, those sensibilities which commerce with the world have hardened—the resuscitation of all the kindly relationships—the kindling anew of mutual sympathies—the healing of mutual differences—the temporary banishment of corroding cares—the return of maturity, for a few hours, to the freshness and buoyancy of earlier days—the mingling, in sport and pastime, of age and childhood—and the touching recollections of those who once were with us, but whose place is now vacant—Oh! these exert a combined influence upon the heart of man, that mysterious thing, which not for a great deal would we consent to throw away! 'Tis the one festival which has descended to us from our ancestors, consecrated to *home*, with its relationships and duties. Would that it could be observed, in its true spirit, by all the families in the kingdom! for its effect, unless marred by folly and frailty, is uniformly elevating and blessed. It has a sanctity all its own; and, for our own part, we never come within range of its mild lustre, without feeling vivified and exalted.

Christmas! Alas, there are many to whom the day brings no cheering influences—whose deep poverty has exiled them to regions of gloom and privation far beyond the reach of family festivities. There are myriads over whose heads Christmas-day, but for the active benevolence of others, must pass as darkly and as cheerlessly as every other day in the year. Let these be thought of! The season, and all the associations connected with it, prompt to liberality. Not less, but more, satisfying will the enjoyment of our own circle be, if attended by the reflection, that we have diffused gladness through other homes than our own. Not less, but more, susceptible will our hearts be to all the pleasures of the season and its festivities, if we have previously opened them to communion with others in their sadness and privations. When we have generously discharged our obligations as almoners of Heaven's bounty, we shall be in the best disposition to enjoy it as recipients. 'Tis a time of the year at which merely economical maxims are sadly out of place—as ungenial as a heavy east wind in the depths of winter. By every man raised above want, something may be done, sympathizingly and delicately, to relieve some family in his vicinity whom want is known to pinch. Christmas has always been a patron of liberality—grieve not his kindly spirit by selfish indifference!

Christmas! We are not anxious to obtrude upon our readers on this day more of the strife of politics than we can help. Their hearts will be claimed and pre-occupied by more genial topics. And, for ourselves, we would fain, if it were possible, breathe exclusively the spirit of the social festival. Another fortnight, we cannot but hope, will charm away much existing soreness of feeling—and while we have no wish that it should induce the smallest unconcern in any man about the maintenance of his opinions, we may yet express our desire that it will relax many a stern brow into smiles, and soothe many an irritated breast into tranquility. We see no need for adding to the misfortune (if, indeed, it be such) of differing opinions, that of differing feelings. None of us will enjoy Christmas the less for having uttered thoughts which sense of duty bade him utter—nor for expressing regret if, in the discharge of that duty, he may have unconsciously exhibited a spirit of eagerness and impetuosity which savours more of the human in him, than of the divine in his message. Let the season exert upon us its healing influence! It will be something to forget, even

for a fortnight, the asperities which direct collision of opinion seldom fails of exciting. Most unfeignedly do we admit that, in the course of the year, prosecuting, as we do, objects in which we have centred all our sympathies, we must occasionally come across most of our readers, at some point or other where they will feel the shock—and often, no doubt, what we do might be better done, if done otherwise. But *they* are not the only sufferers. We, too, have our trials — our private remonstrances, and public rebukes—our taunts by the way, and our more direct castigations. We know what it is to bear the whip—often when we think we have not deserved it—sometimes to avenge other men's sins. But we are tolerably used to it—and though we feel as most others do, we can dismiss those feelings when we think proper. We do so now—and to all our readers, without exception, we wish "A merry Christmas and a happy New Year."

LABOUR AND THE POOR IN 1850.

"The poor ye have alway with you." Nearly eighteen centuries and a half have elapsed since the incidental utterance of this prophetic fact. Like most imperishable sayings, it *was* incidental—the passing statement of a recognised social circumstance introduced for an immediate purpose—not the formal enunciation of an immutable moral principle, or the intentional prediction of what was to be for all time. The permanence of poverty was a fact which Christ used to rebuke the sordid avarice which cloaked itself under penurious benevolence—that fact came to be the reproach of his gospel. It was no unnatural expectation that the religion which taught the universal obligation of brotherly kindness, placed all men on an equality before God, required a neophyte to sell all and give to the poor, and commenced with a voluntary community of goods, should banish poverty before it, as it advanced, encircle the destitute within a new family, and seat them at a board at which, however meagre the provision, all fared alike. True, her authorized expositors professed that these were not the primary objects, though the certain results of her mission—but they invited men to judge of her by her fruits; and men began to speak of Christianity as a failure when they marked her own children separated by the resumed distinction of old heathenism, beheld the wide world abandoned to the miseries of the transition from the old to the new civilization, and herself careful only to retain the pomp of Cæsar, and grasp the power of Charlemagne. But the judgment was premature. The Church, however, had not failed, even in this particular. With all her shortcomings and misdeeds, her perversion of sacred powers, and unfaithfulness to sacred trusts, she has done more for the poor than has any other element that can be detected in the history of society. When she fleeced the rich with sacerdotal shears, when she terrified the violent into superstitious submission and reluctant sacrifices, when she bade avaricious commerce dedicate its first-fruits to build and decorate her shrines, she yet kept open house for the homeless, and set apart a moiety of her tithes for the penniless. And in this modern era—this age of pauperism *vice* slavery—the age in which mechanical industry and economical legislation have given new conditions to the lot of the masses—it is from earnest Christianity, whatever its peculiar form, that has come the inquiry into the eager, though it may be half-crazy, desire to amend the condition of those masses, and to give a new interpretation to that old saying, so often misquoted as the divine justification of human wretchedness—"The poor ye have alway with you."

The recurrence of the great festival of Christendom gives additional appropriateness to a reflection, suggested by the close of the year, on what has been done during this fast-waning 1850 for "labour and the poor." The phrase itself is scarcely older than—at least, it has become familiarly current within—the year, from inquiries to which we shall presently refer. "Labour and the poor!" Strangely unnatural collection of terms! One would suppose, could the mind be abstracted a moment from the actual to the natural condition of things, that the phrase were a sharp antithesis. Is not labour the creator of wealth? is not wealth but the accumulated products of labour? Then why "labour *and* the poor?" Are not "the poor" the imbecile and infirm, the incapable and unfortunate—those who, sent into the world defective in faculty or sense, marked by their Maker with his commission to claim help from their fellows—or those who, more unhappy, choose to rot in indolence, having revelled in prodigality, and need the scourge as well as the alms—or those, again, who—sad fate!—have survived their strength, buried their children, outlived their friends? These are, indeed, the poor. These must be ever with us, except man or the universe mysteriously change. But why link them with the labourers—with the hale of limb and skilled in hand? That they are so linked—that it is the labourers who are also the poor, is the anomaly and scandal of our age and country, the taunt of our philosophy, and the grief of our religion.

The *Morning Chronicle* "Letters," Mr. Sidney Herbert's emigration scheme, the associated-operative movement, the Parliamentary committee on savings' investments, and the direction given to freehold-land societies, are the topics that catch one's eye in looking retrospectively over the social year. The first of these had attained notoriety and attracted very general attention before the commencement of the year, and still continue to be the subject of discussion and the ground of action. The originator and principal conductor of those very remarkable "inquiries" has gained for himself a celebrity and influence beyond what his most successful literary efforts could have conferred. His breach with the parties by whom he was engaged—however better concealed, if it must have taken place—seems to promise larger and more complete revelations than were at first projected of the under-life of London. Mr. Mayhew's cyclopædia of "London Labour and the London Poor"—the first two numbers of which are before us—is the commencement of a novel and invaluable department of knowledge;—not without its faults and dangers, indeed—not without peril both to writer and readers—but these arising from the terrible interest and high importance of the details given. Whatever exaggeration of style or statement may possibly obtain, there will yet be the description of regions and races little known to dwellers in the same city, and men of the same blood. While the disclosures made respecting the ignorance and depravity of the nomadic or the back-lane tribes of the metropolis, may pain the philanthropist, the glimpses of their trade habits will arrest the economist, at once illustrating his axiomatic principles and increasing his perplexity in their application. They bear an unsought and direct testimony alike against partial remedies and universal specifics. They refuse to be content with plans of deportation—such as Mr. Sidney Herbert's—plans of *ad captandum* benevolence, and hasty reasoning. It has now come out that that gentleman's famous statement of the 30,000 needlewomen living on twopence-halfpenny a day, was a monstrous exaggeration—not invented, but fallen upon in philanthropic haste, and defended for the sake of a crotchet. Mr. Mayhew repudiates it—he was not, he declares, its author, he was refused the most ready channel for correcting it, and when subsequently presented in the right quarter, it was kept quiet. "An application," he says, in a letter to the *Economist*, "was made to me indirectly from the Secretary of the [Female Emigration] Society, concerning the real statistics of the case; and I then wrote out a statement showing how the milliners and dressmakers made up 20,780 of the said 30,000 needlewomen, and how I had expressly stated in the *Chronicle* these to be better paid than those whose cases I had then investigated, including among them the shilling-a-day semptresses. This *small* erratum, of course, I expected would have been made public; but no! it would have spoilt the whole economical explanation of the evil, and have burst the bubble outright; consequently it was never given to the world." The associated labour movement, our readers will remember, received a great impetus, and gained powerful friends, from the revelations of the *Morning Chronicle*. We avowed, twelve months since, our conviction of the substantial soundness of the economical principle of association, and wished success to the experiments that were made upon it. We are glad to learn that our opinions are being confirmed, and our wishes realized, in the success and multiplication of these organizations. The Parliamentary inquiry into the existing facilities for the investment of savings by the middle and working classes, was highly valuable for the information and opinions it elicited, if it had no legislative result. It helped on the concession of free trade in land—that proximate and indispensable supplement to free trade in corn—and it helped, also, to give strength to that tendency which is inherent in the freehold land movement, to give the people an industrial as well as monied proprietorship in the soil.

With these contributions to the great cause of social improvement, we may dismiss the year with blessings, and welcome its successor with hope. Eighteen-fifty has done its part in developing the beneficent designs of Him who would have life a boon to all on whom he bestows it—who inspired the ancient prayer, "Give me neither poverty nor riches"—and who sent his Son as well to save the bodies as to redeem the souls of all whom he hath made.

The *Glasgow Mail* quotes from an American paper the statement that a person in New York has engaged to build a yacht of 150 to 180 tons, to be ready to sail during the World's Fair in London next year, and beat any vessel brought against her: if she win, the builder to win 30,000 dollars; if she lose, the vessel to go to the winner. The Glasgow paper offers the quotation as a fair challenge to the Clyde builders, or to the celebrated Messrs. Hall, of Aberdeen, whose vessels are said to beat all others in the world for *combined* speed and stowage capacity,

The Gaol of Newgate.—The following are extracts from an interesting report presented to the Court of Aldermen by the Rev. John Davis, Ordinary of Newgate, on the state of the goal for 1850:—"Another year, involving an incalculable mass of fact and misery, has now passed over in this gaol, and it again becomes my duty to present another report to your worshipful court; and on the present occasion I avail myself the more gladly of the opportunity, to express my great thankfulness at the material alterations and improvements that have been made in the prison during the year now ended. More substantial changes, bearing upon the discipline and efficiency of the gaol, have not for a very long period taken place; and all the members of the worshipful court, in their successive duties as visiting magistrates, will experience much satisfaction at the results. The cells during the past shrievalty have been lighted and warmed. Large and extensive work-rooms have been fitted up for transports, after the model of Millbank Prison. Convicts are compelled to wear the prison dress, and labour in conformity with their sentences. The whole interior of the prison has been furnished with upwards of 200 gaslights, kept burning during the night wherever necessary, and an improved night-watch has been instituted over the transports and throughout the prison, so that intervention, when required, can be afforded at once effectually and promptly." The Chaplain proceeds to report upon the more ordinary details of the prison, produces a useful table of criminals, and says "a great decrease continues in the number of boys committed to Newgate. In 1850 we have had 37 less than in 1849; and in that year 73 less than in 1848; making a total decrease of 110 in two years. The total number for the three years was 284 in 1848, 211 in 1849, and 174 in 1850. . . . . 58 boys were addicted to crime as a means of subsistence who could read fluently, and 24 were addicted to crime as a means of living who could read imperfectly; 10 made crime a means of living in part only who could read fluently, and 5 who read imperfectly made crime in part a means of living. There are 97 boys out of 175 a real pest and nuisance to society when they are not in confinement, and all have received in some measure quite an average, for boys in their condition of life, of the usual education of poor children."

The New Forest.—A report has been for some time prevalent that a Government measure is in preparation, having for its object the enclosure and sale of the New Forest. Whether this report be true it is not for us to say; that serious apprehensions are entertained respecting it we know; but that no possible mischief could result from such a measure we are equally certain. A more beneficial proceeding for the neighbourhood in which the New Forest lies—a more economical one for the country at large—could hardly at this time be devised. No class would suffer, except jobbers, squatters, and poachers—three races of men for whose welfare the public need be little solicitous.—*Times*.

The Window-tax Agitation has re-commenced. On Wednesday a meeting of delegates from metropolitan parishes was held at the court-house, Marylebone; resolutions were adopted, pledging the meeting to use every possible means to obtain a repeal of the tax.

Operating on Bears for Cataract.—Two of the three young grizzly bears lately brought from California, and placed in the Regent's Park Zoological Gardens, having lost their sight by cataracts, it was determined to operate on them with the aid of chloroform, without which it would be quite impossible, not only from their power of resistance, but also from the peculiar faculty of drawing the eye within the orbit. The operation was performed by Mr. Cooper, and the experienced administrator of chloroform, Dr. Snow, and is thus described by the former gentleman:—

The patient having been separated from the other bears, a strong leathern collar and chain was buckled round his neck; and the chain being passed round one of the front bars of the cage, two strong men proceeded to pull him to it as a bullock is hauled to the slaughtering ring. The bear was the size of a young donkey and his resistance was quite remarkable; for full ten minutes he set their efforts at defiance, and ultimately it was only by the united strength of four men that he was placed in a position favourable for the application of the chloroform. Dr. Snow endeavoured to hold a sponge to his nose; but it was only by fairly tying it to his mussle that the object was attained. The dropping of the paws, with the cessation of his roaring and struggles, told that he was insensible; and the sponge being removed, he was laid with his head on a plank outside the den. A solution of atropine had been placed in the eyes on the previous evening, and the pupils were found fully dilated. The instrument used was a strong straight cutting-needle. The extraordinary toughness and thickness of the cornea rendered the insertion of this difficult; and the lens was singularly large in proportion to the eye. This rendered the breaking up of that body by no means easy, and it occupied full a minute. The morning was dark, and the margin of the deep brown iris not distinctly seen; which led to its being wounded in one eye and bleeding freely. The cataracts having been thoroughly destroyed, the bear was drawn again into the den. For some minutes he continued in a state of profound coma, giving scarcely any evidence of life; but gradually recovered, and rising with some difficulty he staggered into his sleeping apartment. On my going to his den the following morning, the door of the dormitory was thrown open; and, to my surprise, he came out with his eyes open, faced the light without the slightest inconvenience, and began licking his paws with perfect satisfaction. A dose of Rochelle salts was given to him, rather as a matter of precaution than because they were needed; and his recovery was rapid, not one red vessel discolouring the conjunctiva at any time,

years;" and, true to the avowal, insisted on replacing everything on its ancient footing, even to the wearing of hair-powder and queues. His avarice was yet greater than his arbitrariness; and having resold the lands disposed of by King Jerome, without compensating the holders, and compelled his subjects to pay the debts of his son (of whom more anon) to the amount of two hundred thousand rix-dollars, he offered to sell a constitution to the Estates for four million rix-dollars. These are but specimens of the working of the federal system. They indicate what prevailed throughout central Europe up to 1819 and '20, when the Congress of Verona re-edited the work of 1814 and '15. Everywhere a war of extermination was carried on against the patriotic party. The statesmen who possessed popular confidence, were superseded by men of the old régime. Every newspaper of a democratic tendency was silenced—even the "Rhenish Mercury," which had been the trumpet tongue of Teutonic resistance to French autocracy. The Universities and the "Tubengund," or "League of Virtue"—a society similar to the Carbonari—the associates of Körner and Lutzlow, among whom, says Richter, lay "the *idea* of the war—a universal enthusiasm elevated to a noble self-consciousness—the conviction that in the nature of things, no power merely military, no cunning of the most refined despotism, can, in the long run, triumph over native freedom of thought and tried force of will"—these noble institutions, comprising the venerable and the youthful genius of Germany, were mercilessly attacked. Many who had distinguished themselves in song and fight, were immured in dungeons as traitors and rebels. The students held great gatherings in October 1817, to celebrate the third centenary of the Reformation; committed to the flames, as Luther did the Pope's bull, a number of servile works, "filled with anger that the same reformation required of the Church by Luther, should be sanctioned, but at the same time refused, by the State;" and hoisted for the first time the German tricolor—black, red, and yellow—which we shall see hereafter uplifted by kings, and again proscribed as a traitorous symbol. These proceedings were made the subject of formal complaint to the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, by the Czar's minister. Kotzebue, the Russian literateur, resident at Mannheim, published a weekly paper, filled with ridicule and denunciation of the patriotic spirit, and kept up secret communications with St. Petersburg. The discovery of this so inflamed the students, that one of them, named Sand, "noted for piety and industry," fanatically resolved on the destruction of this supposed enemy of the country. He accomplished his frenzied purpose in 1819, and was beheaded in the following year. What were the general results of his fatal delusion, we shall see when we arrive, in the order of narration, at that period—which it will be found of advantage thus to have anticipated.

And how were these deeds of the Holy Alliance regarded in England? Not, it must be confessed, with the general detestation they deserved. The people were not at first sensible of the deep and lasting disgrace incurred by the statesmen of England in lending her name and forces to the vilest despotism. A party there assuredly was, who protested that France should be left to the free choice of her own government; that the allied sovereigns, and not the re-elected Emperor, were the disturbers of the peace of Europe—who, much as they hated his crimes, and deplored the perversion of his noble powers, mingled contempt with aversion for the meanness and cruelty which deported him to Helena—who bewailed that the diplomatists of Protestant, constitutional England, had fastened on the continent the Inquisition, Jesuitism, and the Bourbons—and who foresaw, in the Rhenish Confederation, the artful enslavement of Germany for another generation. Grey and Holland in the one House, Brougham, Romilly, and Horner in the other, gave utterance to these sentiments with a distinctness and fervour that gained them honour beyond the power of subsequent mistakes and faults to cast away. Whitbread was foremost in the expression of honest scorn, but perished by his own hand, a few days after the battle of Waterloo—Canning would have been, but that he had been degraded and silenced. His known necessities prompted the offer, and permitted the acceptance, of a mission to Lisbon, in the early part of 1814, which replenished his means but destroyed his independence; and in June, 1816, he joined the Ministry. To him it was given, in after days, to repair, to carry to a noble height, his tarnished reputation for a patriotic and liberty-loving spirit. We shall see him, after the Congress of Verona, partially, at least, removing from the national escutcheon the huge stain put upon it by Castlereagh at the Congress of Vienna. We shall see a revival of that ancient English spirit which, under Cromwell, made this island the terror of foreign tyrants, and the refuge of their escaped victims; and which to-day gives promise, by its sympathy with the strugglers of Hungary and Italy, of Holstein and Hesse Cassel, to unite ere long with liberated Europe in solemnly consuming, like Luther and the students, the parchment fetters which the kings of 1815 bound upon the limbs and soul of humanity and upon the future.

CHAPTER II.

The Transition—The Plague of Plenty—How the Corn-law of 1815 was carried—Ignorance of the Mercantile Classes of the true Principles of Commerce—Compromise of the Economists with the Landlords—Prophetic Protests against the Enactment of Scarcity.

Some excuse for the indifference of the English people to the political fate of their continental brethren, is to be found in the severity of their own "transition from war to peace"—a phrase invented by Lord Castlereagh, at once to account for and solace their sufferings. The universal rejoicings over the return of peace had not subsided, when the bitter discovery began to be made, that peace did not necessarily bring with it the blessings of plenty and cheapness—or, what was more singular and melancholy, that to a large, and the most powerful, class of the community, plenty and cheapness were the very reverse of blessings. So early as 1813, the sight of a bountiful harvest excited apprehensions, in the agricultural mind, for the maintenance of the prices to which the agricultural interest had fully accustomed itself; and the nearer prospect of open markets raised that apprehension to determined self-defence. A select committee of the House of Commons reported, that while the export duty of 1s. per quarter, imposed on wheat by the corn-law of 1670, might with safety be rescinded, the prohibitory duty on importation, which was fixed by the same law at 80s. per quarter, should be carried up to 105s. 2d. per quarter! It was subsequently consented, that wheat at 84s. should be admitted on the payment of 2s. 6d. per quarter. There were numerous petitions against this proposed perpetuation of war prices—the populace had gazed and shouted at the illuminated devices of a large loaf and a full pot of beer; and their disappointment was ready to vent itself in violence;—so the positive enactment of the measure was permitted to stand over till the session of 1815. The landlords, urged on by their excited tenants, would then put up with no procrastination. Shiploads of French corn and fruit, of Dutch butter and cheese, with herds of cattle and flocks of poultry, were at hand, waiting only till English wheat, now at 60s., should rise to 66s., and realize that mysterious danger, open ports. The invasion of food was met as would have been an armed insurrection, or any emergency that called for repressive promptitude. The sliding-scale corn-law of 1815—fixing 80s. as the lowest point at which importation could take place—was hurriedly carried by large majorities, with little discussion, in the faces of earnest petitions from the commercial and manufacturing interests, and, literally, with the Houses surrounded by soldiery.

It would be unjust to represent these proceedings as the result of unmixed selfishness on the one side, or of enlightened foresight on the other. The agricultural party had plausible reasons for alarm, and the substantial justice of their demands was conceded by the leaders of the economists; and while merchants and manufacturers were as tenacious of protection on their own behalf, as hostile to its increase to the agriculturists, there was a band of wealthy landowners and eminent statesmen who protested against sacrificing the interests of all classes, and of futurity, to the exigency of a class and of an hour. If the plutocracy of London and Lancashire were dissatisfied at all with Castlereagh's pacification, it was that he had exacted from the continental powers no commercial treaties in favour of importations from England;—they would almost have armed their working people had our ports been as open in 1814 to French silk as to French corn. Huskisson was not then the favourite of Liverpool, or his free-trade notions were not developed. Mercantile men were but beginning to learn that trade between nations must always be, substantially, what it is with individuals in its primary stage, namely, barter; that the exports of a country cannot long be paid for in cash, nor must greatly exceed its imports. Their resistance to the law of 1815 rested on the narrow basis of supposed hostility of their interest to that of the agriculturists, and the dim perception that high prices of food involve high cost of production, either as wages or poor-rates. Their champion, Mr. Brougham, was amongst those who consented to the law as "politic, or, at the least, as a palliative; as the means of carrying the country through difficulties of temporary pressure." Sir Henry Pamell "had always avowed himself the friend of free-trade;" but war prices constituted English corn an exception to the general principle. Mr. Huskisson was, as required by his stricter profession of political philosophy, more exact in his exposition of the "whole of our commercial and economical system as a system of artificial expedients;"—so long as our commerce and manufactures were encouraged and forced by protections, by bounties, and restraints, he saw no reason why corn should alone form an exception to the general system. Mr. Horner and his knot of "convertible" economists, bent on keeping the government to the letter of its bond, to resume cash payments with the cessation of war, conceded the demands of the agriculturists for protection from the fall of prices that must enevitably follow; and the country party, it was understood, would support them in return—eager as were landlords to receive their rents in a currency that would pass without depreciation in the continental cities, to which there was a rush of pleasure-seekers. The agriculturists got their protection at once—the economists had to wait for the realization of their crotchet till 1819. Mr. Baring (afterwards Lord Ashburton) was one of the few who contended that "steady prices were never produced by restriction"—that bread would be high or low, according as there was a good or bad harvest—and that as the whole of England was to any particular county in this particular, so was the whole of Europe to England. Grey, Grenville, and Wellesley, Buckingham, Carlisle, Devonshire, and Spencer, placed upon the journals of the Upper House a protest, which, embodying sentiments now familiar and almost undisputed, should be quoted as a singular instance of sagacity and foresight—as the courageous and disinterested expression of unpopular truths, since verified by bitter experience:—"We cannot persuade ourselves that this law will ever contribute to produce plenty, cheapness, or steadiness of price. So long as it operates at all, its effects must be the opposite of these. Monopoly is the parent of scarcity, of dearness, and of uncertainty. To cut off any of the sources of supply can only tend to lessen its abundance; to close against ourselves the cheapest market for any commodity, must enhance the price at which we purchase it; and to confine the consumer of corn to the produce of his own country, is to refuse to ourselves the benefit of that provision which Providence itself has made for equalizing to man the variations of season and of climate."

The prophetic wisdom of these admirable sentences was to receive almost instant proof. Not a year had elapsed before Mr. Western, the spokesman of the agricultural interest, again appeared at the table of the House, to demand further increase of protection, and the remission of peculiar burdens—to demand protection even from itself, by the concession of invidious and unjust privileges. That the landed interest was still in distress, might have been gathered from the omission of its name in the Prince Regent's speech, which was bold enough to describe other interests as prosperous—but it was now in distress from the redundant supply "created chiefly by the produce of our own agriculture." From this there could be no protection but at the direct expense of the rest of the community. It was demanded, therefore, that so much of the act of 1815 be repealed as permitted the warehousing of foreign corn (even precautions against scarcity were now regarded with jealousy), and that the government advance loans of money to such individuals as were inclined to buy up our native produce! These audacious proposals were received with respectful attention even by those who were as independent of the landed interest as any could be, while other interests were almost unrepresented in Parliament. That they were not carried, was simply owing to the diversion created by Ministers in surrendering the property and malt taxes—the most obnoxious of the war taxes, and the most obviously burthensome to those who derived revenue or subsistence from the soil.

W. W.

NEWSPAPER

LITERATURE.

THE LITERATURE OF "THE PRESENT CRISIS."

(Continued from last week.)

Another sermon comes to our hands, *The Pope and his Pretensions* (Ward), by Rev. Dr. ANDREW REED. *This* is decidedly opposed to the views advocated in this journal; it calls the recommendation of *non-interference* "strange counsel," and is "deeply grieved to acknowledge the quarter whence it comes;" we suppose the *Nonconformist* is held in view, even if not specially intended. The Doctor speaks of the "palpable error" of our opinion of the matter; and gives "explicit denial" to some statements which have been made. He calls for "action, action, action;" counsels, "*Repel the invasion;*" and knows not "why Parliament should not be summoned at seven days' notice." Lord John Russell's letter is commended "for discretion, firmness, and liberality." The following extract shall speak for itself; it is an opinion on the assertion, that the present struggle is between two rival hierarchies:—

"Finally, let me just offer a solemn alternative to the man, whose judgment may, for the moment, have been warped from a better conclusion, Suppose that you stood apart as a cool spectator; suppose that the two churches were left alone in the contest; and suppose—which is not unlikely—in the absence of all auxiliars, that the victory ultimately was found with the Catholic: I ask you, where would you be? You might have helped the better Church, but you did not. Your help, and help like yours, might have given a different issue to the conflict; and a Protestant and regenerated faith might have been preserved to our country. She is fallen—crushed—annihilated! The Reformation is blotted out! All for which our fathers were content to suffer and die, is gone; and YOU ARE ACCESSORY TO THE RUIN!"

If clear, definite, positive, *statements* could make it so, Dr. Reed's would be a forcible pamphlet. Dr. MORISON'S *Present Aspects of Protestantism* (Ramsay), is of like kind, and in the same strain. *The Papal Invasion: How to defeat it*, by Dr. JAMES CARLILE (Seeleys), is admiringly dedicated to Lord John Russell; appeals to "the law," and demands a "visible organization of Protestants." It is magniloquent and grandiose. In coming to the close of this second lot of pamphlets, it is with no small hope that we observe that the young and free men of the ministry are at one with us, in the sentiments this journal has expressed: we are far from indifferent to the fact that older and honourable names are against us; but we are not disconcerted by a fact which we greatly regret.

A third class of publications connected with the subject, but not directly touching its new aspects, furnishes only three worthy of mention. One has the following tremendous title—*Popery as it is: being an Exposure of the present Errors and Deeds of the Romish Church; proving that their Priesthood is historically the same in its Rapacity, Bloodthirstiness, and Persecution, as at the time when they lit the Fires in Smithfield, ordained the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and perpetrated the Horrors of the Inquisition* (Berger). No doubt this is a true bill of indictment. A motto from Carlyle is prefixed: "Whoever has a heart for prayer, let him pray now, for the wrestle of death is at hand: Pray;—and withal, keep his powder dry! and be ready for extremities, and 'quit himself' like a man." A useful little work is an *Antidote to the Popish Articles of Faith;* translated from John Calvin (Nisbet). *The Gunpowder Treason* (Adams), containing the trials of the cospirators, is an interesting and curious reprint, having an independent value, but now published as a speculation on the present excited "odium."

It will be seen that notwithstanding our weariness at this large batch of controversy, we consider many of the works to be of considerable value: the worst is, that there are more of these pamphlets behind.

Lectures on the Principles and Institutions of the Roman Catholic Religion, by the late Rev. Joseph Fletcher, D.D. Fifth Edition. Edited by the Rev. JOSEPH FLETCHER, of Christchurch. London: W. Kent and Co., Paternoster-row.

As this work has already passed through four editions in octavo, and is well known as a standard book on the subject of Popery, it is needless to enter into any lengthened criticism of its merits; but appearing, as it does, in a cheap form, at this peculiar crisis of our religious history, a few words expository of its contents will not be out of place.

With respect to its adaptation to the present day, it may be safely averred that had it been written within the last few months, with the view of opposing the progress of Popery in this country, and in order to inform the mind on the great question now at issue, it could not have been more suitable, or better adapted to stem the torrent of superstition, by its clear and forcible explanation of Protestant truth. Neither are these lectures suited for the present times merely, on account of their unanswerable arguments against the principles and institutions of the Roman Catholic religion, but also for their enlightened enforcement of strictly spiritual weapons in the warfare now waging between supporters of the Protestant and the Catholic faith; and it is difficult to lay too much stress on this view of the subject—for, to the disgrace of Protestants be it spoken, it does not appear that there is by any means a general understanding with respect to the opposition which it is proper to offer to the aggressions of the Papists. The great truth of the New Testament, that "the weapons of our warfare are not carnal," does not seem to be appreciated as yet, even by those whose principles took their rise from it, and without it are merely useless abstractions.

Dr. Fletcher was the friend of religious liberty, in its broadest acceptation, and, had he now lived, would have been foremost in denouncing any restrictive enactments, or the slightest infringement on the liberty of the Roman Catholics. The mode of warfare he would have insisted on, and indeed the only method by which error can be exposed and truth established, is to be found in his lectures, the great value of which may be partly estimated by the following extract from the editor's preface:—

"Many and excellent as are some of the works published on the subject, none perhaps so fairly discusses the essential principles of the Roman Catholic religion, as ascertained from the best authorities; while the general structure of the argument is marked throughout by the presence of the severest logic. Many examples have come to light of their beneficial influence. The Abbé Bossüt, of Paris, informed a Protestant gentleman that he had read them with great interest, and considered their argument unanswerable. The Rev. Robert Moffat, the well-known missionary, related an instance of their usefulness at the Cape in the conversion of two Roman Catholics. The Rev. James Thompson, a missionary in South America, communicated the following incident, in a letter to the author, in 1826:—'I took a copy of this work with me when I went to South America in 1818. After being there some time, I got intimately acquainted with a Dominican friar, and had with him many interesting conversations on general subjects as well as on religion. I at length lent him your volume, and upon seeing him some time after, he expressed great satisfaction at the candour with which you had treated the subject, and particularly noticed the spirit of piety in which it was managed. He told me he had translated several passages of the lectures into Spanish, and every way he seemed much pleased with the work. A few days before I went to Chili, wishing to take your lectures with me, I called on my friend for the volume I had lent him. Upon my asking him for it, he brought it out, and holding it in both his hands and pressing it to his breast, he spoke of it so much, and seemed so reluctant to part with it, that I could not summon courage enough to deprive him of it. I therefore presented it to him as a memorial of our friendship, with which he was truly gratified.' Instances of a similar kind might be mentioned, but these are perhaps sufficient to illustrate the kind of influence the work is adapted to exert on candid and thoughtful minds."

We most earnestly recommend this work to our readers as a forcible, temperate, and unanswered refutation of the errors of Popery.

Spiritual Heroes: or, Sketches of the Puritans, their Character and Times. By JOHN STOUGHTON. Second Edition. London: John Snow, Paternoster-row.

THIS volume has deservedly become a favourite. We are glad to see it in a second and cheaper edition. It is a book well fitted to the thoughtful young people of Nonconformist families; and can scarcely fail to enkindle intelligent and ardent attachment to that Puritanism which, the author says truly, has been the soul of English Protestantism. The author has revised the general body of the work, and added a new chapter on Baxter at Kidderminster; from which we make the following extract:—

"During the period under review, his pen was employed in the production of several of those treatises which are comprised in his public works. These, he says, were his chief daily labour, which yet went the more slowly on, that he never one hour had an amanuensis to dictate to, especially because his weakness took up so much of his time. The large collection of his epistolary papers, to which reference has been already made, presents a further monument of his industry. Yet what remains, we should infer, can form but a minor portion of the letters which were written by this marvellous scribe. To carry on such a correspondence as he did, one would think, was enough to fill up the chief portion of every day. His communications were not brief notes, such as we commonly write to our friends; but many of them elaborate treatises, covering several sheets. One letter to Matthew Poole, on Predestination, occupies sixteen folio pages, very closely written; and there are some letters much longer than even that. On turning over his papers (Baxter MSS., Red Cross-street Library), I found lengthened dissertations on Baptism, Church Government, Union, and the interpretation of Prophecy. One person, who calls himself 'a young scholar, or minister of the gospel,' writes to him for instruction, and begs him to send some arguments to prove the divinity of the Scriptures. Baxter sits down, and forthwith returns an extended answer, giving an outline of the principal evidences relating to that important subject. He seems to have been regarded as common property; and not only did divines at home and abroad consult him on theological topics, but pious people of all sorts wrote to him for advice. Cases of casuistry were proposed; spiritual difficulties are stated; weak faith is deplored; guidance is sought respecting what church should be joined—what ministers should be heard—what books should be read. It is beautiful to see the condescension, humility, patience, and love evinced in the replies furnished to these various applications. Inspired with missionary zeal, to an extent but little known in those days, he panted for the conversion of the heathen to Christ; and zealously co-operated in rendering assistance to Elliot, the apostle to the Indians. Letters between Baxter and that distinguished missionary still exist."

It is not necessary further to recommend these instructive and delightful pages. We fully expect that the acceptance they have obtained is but prophetic of a wider popularity yet to come.

Gleanings on the Overland Route. By the Author of "Forty Days in the Desert." London: Hall, Virtue, and Co.

IN the spring of the present year, Mr. Bartlett, the author of this beautiful volume, visited Malta and Gibraltar; not for the purpose of a passing glance at these interesting places, but for leisurely observation of all the most prominent and noteworthy objects they could offer to the study of a literary artist. As might be expected, the establishment of the Overland Route has added these places to the travel-world of our tourists and sightseers; and, instead of a few occasional and solitary travellers, they have now their hundreds of visitors, anxious to see their wonderful fortresses and striking natural features. Mr. Bartlett has made his own enjoyment of these scenes, and his careful reading of their history, available to such travellers, in the present book of pictorial and literary gleanings. Having previously written of Egypt and the Arabian Desert, he has thus completed a companion to those portions of the Route most likely to be of interest and attractiveness to the visitor. Others, also, will know how to appreciate his labours—those who are able to make a good book of travels, with truthful sketches and maps, serve them as a realizing substitute for foreign journeying; and yet others, who may need a compendium of historical and antiquarian information respecting these localities—and who may here find the condensed substance of many large and expensive volumes.

The repute gained by Mr. Bartlett's "Forty days in the Desert," and "The Nile Boat," is well sustained by his new production. The combination of literary and artistic delineation is managed with a tasteful and impressive effect, not often reached in similar works. Good plates have frequently been accompanied by weak "descriptive letterpress," not only unsatisfying and wearying, but, absolutely injurious to the pictures they were intended to assist; and we do not know an instance in which an artist has furnished the literature of his own sketches so happily and successfully as has Mr. Bartlett.

Everybody will look first to the sketches in any book of the author's; always admirable, as they are, for their evident truth and realizing power. This collection is not surpassed by any other series from Mr. Bartlett's pencil; on the contrary, we think many of its specimens exhibit the highest artistic ability he has ever displayed. It is a peculiar merit of the artist that he never covers his paper with vague generalities of scenery, which produce no distinct and independent impression. His sketches are ever characteristic, individual, and full of nature; and these qualities are present *here* almost to perfectness. The absence of pretension and vulgar picture-making is most praiseworthy: the presence of refinement and conscientiousness is most delightful. Mr. Bartlett disclaims "pretence to originality," because "hundreds of engravings" of the same subjects have appeared; but he *is* original, in the truest sense.

The "View of Granada" is one of the most marvellous drawings we ever saw, on such a scale. It is scarcely less creditable to the engraver than to the artist, and is a brilliant work where all the engravings are exquisite. We may further mention the "View from the Signal Station"—"Carteia"—"Europa Point"—and "The Governor's Villa"—as having individual beauty and power, even amongst these unusually effective sketches. We must also particularize the excellent plan and bird's-eye view of Valetta, and the map and plan of Gibraltar, which make the reader at once at home at these places; and enable him to get accurate notions of the whole effect of their scenery, and render intelligible their difficult topography. They seem to us model instances of what *might* be done for the study of geography, giving a complete and instantaneous impression of the structure of important tracts of country, and the distribution of its localities.

The literature contains historical and antiquarian notices, the result of extended and careful reading of the best authorities; descriptive passages of considerable graphic power; and personal narrative of a very pleasant and informing kind. The work is genuine—solid and valuable in its materials, apart from its pictorial merits; having an agreeableness and usefulness scarcely inferior to its attractions for the eye. We might prove this by several extracts now before us; but after taking the trouble to transcribe them, the crowded state of our columns compels us to relinquish our intention.

Better than the "Annuals"—now so nearly at the final close of their existence—in all the features of gift-book worth, and appropriateness as a Christmas and new year's volume—when "fireside travelling" is the only enjoyable excursion on the outer world, and, to many, the only relief of a winter prison—these "Gleanings" add to that seasonable worth, a fitness to permanent place in the library, and desert of preservation with standard works on foreign countries. Wherever it goes, it will more than vindicate our sincere praise and commendation.

A Collection of Poetry for the Practice of Elocution. London: Taylor, Walton, and Co.

THIS Collection has been made by Mr. F. W. Newman, for the use of the ladies at the College in Bedford-square. The arrangement is based on a progress in the exercise of recitation. It is a capital book for its purpose; compiled with taste and discrimination;—several of the pieces are new, and many are unusual in such selections. Four slight poems bear the initials N. J. H.; and we suspect they are the productions of John Henry Newman. If so, they have an interest which will justify the following extract, from the close of a little poem, entitled "Nature and Art," (written at Ulcombe in Kent):—

"There is a spirit ranging through
The earth, the stream, the air:
Ten thousand shapes, garbs ever new,
That restless ONE doth wear:
In colour, scent, and taste and sound,
The energy of LIFE is found.

"The leaves are rustling in the breeze,
The bird chants forth her song:
From field to brook, o'er heath, o'er trees,
The sunbeam glides along:
The insect, happy in its hour,
Floats softly by, or sips the flow'r.

* * *

Ah, lovely Nature! others dwell
Full favour'd in thy court:
I of thy smiles but hear them tell,
And feed on their report,
Catching what glimpse an Ulcombe yields
To strangers loitering in her fields.

"I go where Form has ne'er unbent
The sameness of his sway;
Where iron Rule, stern Precedent,
Mistreat the graceful day:
To pine as prisoner in his cell,
And yet be thought to love it well.

"Yet so His high dispose has set,
Who binds on each his part:
Though absent, I may cherish yet
An Ulcombe of the heart;
Calm verdant hope, divinely given,
And suns of peace, and scenes of heaven;—

"A soul prepar'd His will to meet,
Full fix'd His work to do;
Not laboured into sudden heat,
But inly born anew.
So living Nature, not dull Art,
Shall plan my ways and rule my heart."

The Reviewer begs to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications:—

A Christian Jew on the Old Testament Scriptures. By B. WEISS. London: Hamilton and Co.—[This book investigates the history, institutions, and ordinances, recorded in the Pentateuch; according to their typical significations. A large amount of useful and interesting information is brought together; with some illustrations and expositions, novel and characteristic of the Christian Jew. We think it contains something of over-interpretation and false opinion; but it is generally deserving of the perusal of those who have neither great knowledge of Scripture typology, nor access to completer works on the subject.]——*Beatrice; or, the Influence of Words.* By S. S. JONES. London: Ramsay.—[This tale is intended to enforce a very important truth. It has some merit; and for the sake of the sound intent of the author, we should be glad if we could give it higher praise: but we really think it one of the poorest and feeblest stories, of a class in which weak and worthless productions abound.]——*A Glimpse of Hayti, and her Negro Chief.* London: Hall, Virtue, and Co.—[The author says, "In the following pages, some observations made during a recent visit to the magnificent but unfortunate 'Queen of the Antilles,' are interwoven with the more prominent passages of her tragic history:" and we have but to add an expression of our extreme satisfaction with this beautiful, powerfully-told, and instructive version, of Hayti's deeply interesting story.]——*The Bible of every Land.* Part II. London: Bagster.]—Contains the Polynesian and African Languages: one more part will complete this important and permanently valuable record of the diffusion of the Bible throughout all nations.]——*The Foundling, or the School of Life.* Edinburgh: Paton and Co.—[A very capital and attractive tale, from the German; but though included in a "Sunday and Nursery Library," it is not adapted to mere children.]——*Flora Mortimer; or, Six Months in the Country.* By Mrs. EDMONDS. London: Green's Juvenile Library.—[One of the freshest and most delightful stories the juveniles can receive this coming Christmas; furnishing pleasant amusement, and not less solid knowledge and right direction for the mind. The same pen will be welcome to children again.]——*Spiritual Reflections for Every Day in the Year.* By the Rev. THOMAS GOYDER. Two vols. London: Simpkin and Co.—[With something of *spiritualizing* and peculiarity, these small volumes yet contain much that is thoughtful, pointed, and profitable.]——*The Pacing of the Sentinel;* or, The Soul on Duty. London: Gilpin.——*Ancient Egypt: its Monuments and History.*——*London in the Olden Time.* London: Religious Tract Society.——*Floriphonia:* an Expressive Bouquet, gathered and arranged for the Christian Ladies of Great Britain and Ireland. By ANASTASIUS. London: Houlston and Co.—[The following is a fair sample of the ease and melody with which Anastasius clothes his labouring thoughts: it is part of "The Purple Violet:"—

"Years rolled;—the verdant spheroid earth revolved,
Progressed, in its elliptic orbit, round the
Glowing throne of Helios; whose law
Centripetal, his satellites obey." &c. &c.

We envy the author and publishers their confidence in the "Christian Ladies of Great Britain and Ireland," who are to wear this "expressive bouquet."]

ESCAPE FROM A CONVENT.—The *Banbury Guardian* has a narrative of the "escape" of a young lady from the convent of St. John in that town. The young lady was known in the convent as Sister Antonia; her "worldly name" is unknown, but she is understood to be very highly connected:—"Her dissatisfaction with a conventual life was first made known out of the house by letters, which she contrived to have conveyed by children in the school, to parties of the Protestant faith in Banbury. An English New Testament, which by chance came into her possession, disturbed the opinions in which she had been educated. She determined on getting away from St. John's, and resolved to do so early on Monday morning, and again on Tuesday morning; but at the moment of the contemplated escape her heart failed her. Shortly after nine o'clock, the school hour, on Tuesday, while the other inmates were engaged, she took an opportunity of getting away unobserved; and for some reason, instead of going to the parties in Banbury with whom she had been in communication, and who had offered her shelter, set off on the road for Oxford. At Adderbury, three miles from Banbury, she became tired, and inquired for a Protestant minister: she was taken to the house of the Reverend Mr. Crickett, an Independent minister, where she was kindly received both by Mr. and Mrs. Crickett, with whom she was remaining yesterday. She has been supplied with clothing, and the garments peculiar to the sisterhood, in which she went away, have been returned to the convent. Before she left St. John's, we believe an application was made by the parties with whom she had been in communication, to a neighbouring magistrate, for his aid to remove her; and he wrote on the subject to Sir George Grey, the Secretary of State; but she did not wait for their interference, but took an opportunity of acting alone, as we have described."

PARLIAMENTARY AND FINANCIAL REFORM.—One of the largest meetings ever held in Derby took place on the evening of the 18th inst., in the Town-hall, Derby, to receive an account of their stewardship from the members of the borough, and to promote, generally, the cause of Parliamentary and financial reform. Mr. Alderman Peat in the chair. The meeting was most enthusiastic. Mr. Slack attended as a deputation from the National Reform Association, Sir Joshua Walmsley not being able to attend. Thomas Gisborne, Esq., and other leading reformers, were present. A vote of thanks to the members for their past conduct was carried by acclamation.

THE LAND MONOPOLY.—The whole land of England is monopolized by not more than 30,000 proprietors; the soil of Scotland is monopolized by 3,000 proprietors; and the soil of Ireland is monopolized by, probably, not more than 6,000 persons. To show how this land monopoly, with its entail laws, has been sweeping round us, it may be stated that, in 1780, the number of landed proprietors in England was about 250,000, instead of 30,000, as now, and the process of absorption is still going on rapidly.—*Freeholder.*

BIRTHS.

December 8, at 19, Wells-street, Gray's-inn-road, the wife of Mr. H. HEMMING, of a son.

December 19, the wife of the Rev. W. G. LEWIS, of Kensington, of a son.

MARRIAGES.

December 11, at Loughton, Essex, by the Rev. S. Brawn, Mr. J. H. WITHAM, draper, Bayswater, to ELIZA, eldest daughter of T. SKERRITT, Esq., of Loughton.

December 19, at St. Mary-at-Hill, by the Rev. Dr. Mortimer, Head Master of the City of London School, assisted by the Rev. C. Brady, M.A., HENRY JUDGE HOSE, Esq., B.A., Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Mathematical Lecturer at St. Peter's College, Westminster, to ANN, the eldest daughter of B. HORNBY, Esq., of Eastcheap.

December 19, at the Independent Chapel, Chesterfield, by the Rev. W. Blandy, Mr. HENRY WEAVER, draper, of Manchester, to SARAH ANN, eldest daughter of Mr. SAYER, draper, of Chesterfield.

DEATHS.

December 10, at Exeter, aged 102, Mrs. ELIZABETH LOUIS, sister of the late Vice Admiral Sir T. Louis, Bart.

December 12, at Nailsworth, in her 41st year, HARRIETT, the fourth daughter of the late Mr. G. THOMAS, of Nailsworth.

December 14, at the Draw-well, Wem, Shropshire, deeply regretted, Miss MARY IRELAND, formerly of Enfield, Middlesex.

December 17, after a few days' illness, in St. John's College, Cambridge, aged 19, WALDYVE HENRY, second son of F. WILLINGTON, Esq., of Tamworth.

December 17, JOHN HENRY, the infant son of Mr. H. HEMMING, of 19, Wells-street, Gray's-inn-road.

December 18, in his 87th year, CHARLES ROWORTH, of Bell-yard, Temple-bar, printer.

December 19, at Dover, after a short illness, MARY, widow of the late Sir E. KNATCHBULL, Bart., and daughter of the late T. HAWKINS, Esq., of Nash-court, in the county of Kent.

December 20, at Bournemouth, of typhus fever, in his 17th year, the Hon. GEORGE HORACE PITT, the eldest son of Lord and Lady RIVERS.

December 20, after a short but severe illness, deeply regretted by his family and friends, aged 77, Mr. WILLIAM GRATWICK, for many years a most consistent member of the Baptist church, Dorman's Land, Lingfield, Surrey. His end was peace.

The *Wanderer*, of Vienna, states that Bavaria, Hanover, and Saxony, have declared themselves in favour of the establishment of a popular Chamber, in connexion with the Executive Government of the Germanic Confederation.

[Advertisement.]—HALSE'S PORTABLE GALVANIC APPARATUS.—[From the *Wesleyan* of March 10).—"That Mr. Halse stands high as a Medical Galvanist, and that he is generally considered as the head of his profession, are facts which we have long known: but we did not know, until very recently, that he had brought the Galvanic Apparatus to such a high state of perfection that an invalid may galvanise himself with the most perfect safety. We happen to know something of Galvanism ourselves, and we can truly say that his apparatus is far superior to anything of the kind we ever beheld. To those of our invalid friends, therefore, who may feel desirous of testing the remedial powers of Galvanism, we say, apply at once to the fountain head. To secure beneficial results, it is necessary, as we can from experience assert, to be galvanized by an apparatus constructed on the best principles; for, although the sensation experienced from the small machines of the common construction during the operation is very similar to that experienced by Mr. Halse's machines, yet the effects afterwards produced are vastly different the one producing a feeling of exhaustion, and the other a feeling of renewed vigour. Mr. Halse particularly recommends Galvanism for the restoration of muscular power in any part of the body which may be deficient of it. Mr. Halse residence is at 22, Brunswick-square."

MONEY MARKET AND COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

CITY, TUESDAY MORNING.

The English Stock Market has been duller during the past week—not from a sympathetic feeling with other departments of speculative trade and investment, but from the closing of the Transfer-books for Consols., and the absence of some dealers on account of the "Christmas holidays." Consols. and other stocks remain at the price of our last quotation, and, as then, the opinion is very general that stocks will advance at the close of the year. Bank Stock has risen to 214, whilst Exchequer Bills have declined to 67s.

	Wed.	Thurs.	Friday.	Sat.	Mond.	Tues.
3 per Ct. Cons.	Shut.	Shut.	Shut.	Shut.	Shut.	Shu
Cons. for Acct	97 ex d	97⅛ ex d	96 ex d	96⅝ ⅜	96⅝	96⅝
3 per Ct. Red.	97¼ ⅜	97¼ ⅜	97⅛ ¼	97¼ ⅜	97⅛	97⅛
New 3½ per Ct. Annuities...	98⅜ ½	98⅜ 9½	98⅝ 9	99 8½	99½	99½ ½
India Stock ..	271	Shut	Shut	Shut	—	271
Bank Stock ..	213½	213¼ 14	213¼	214	214	213¼
Exchq. Bills..	63 pm.	67 pm.	67 pm.	67 pm.	67 pm.	67 pm.
India Bonds ..	—	83 pm.	83 pm.	86 pm.	81 pm.	85 pm.
Long Annuit..	7 13-16	7 13 16	7⅛	—	—	7⅛

The Foreign Market has been in a healthy state, and Northern, Dutch, and Spanish-American Bonds have improved. We must except, Mexican, however, in which a tendency to flatness has been observable. The Morning papers publish a memorandum from the Committee of Spanish Bondholders, containing the only alteration in the budget, to the settlement of the debt which was promised to be arranged by the Government at Madrid. The budget contains absolutely no provision even for a fractional payment of the interest of the debt, and all that the Ministry announce is, that such a provision will be an "imperious obligation for succeeding years." As the *Times* remarks, "the silly shamelessness of the concluding phrase, that Spain intends some day to 'give to the world another proof of her honesty and good faith,' shows that to reason with her rulers as with men who are accessible to the ordinary appeals that operate in the relations of the world would be ridiculous, and where there is sense neither of reason nor shame, hard words would merely furnish them with the opportunity of saying that they would have been honest if they had not been insulted."

The Railway Market has again been very active, and the amount of business done has been considerable. In Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton, there has been great fluctuation, the speculation being based upon the probability, or otherwise, of a favourable arrangement with the main line. Great Northern, also, have gained strength, and North Western, South Western, East Lancashire, Caledonian, and some others, have been dealt in largely. The traffic upon the whole of the lines stands well, and the Christmas week is expected to do much. From a statement in *Herapath's Journal*, it appears, "during 49 weeks of the present year the receipts amounted to £12,036,164, and for the corresponding period of 1849, to £10,397,698, showing an increase of £1,638,570, or 15 8 per cent. The average receipts per mile in 1850, on 6,240 miles, amounted to £2,111, and for the corresponding period of 1849, on 5,160 miles, to £2,183 per mile; the increase in the mileage being 1,080 miles. The following were the closing prices yesterday afternoon:—Aberdeen, 10½; Caledonian, 10⅞ 11⅛ 11; Chester and Holyhead, 17½; Eastern Counties, 6¼ ⅜; Great Northern, 18 17⅞ 18⅛; Great Western, 79¾ 9; Hull and Selby, 100½; Lancashire and Yorkshire, 60 59¾; London and North Western, 127½ 6¾ 7; London and Brighton, 87½ 7 8; London and South Western, 80 79¾; Midland, 49½ 9¾; Newcastle and Carlisle, 90; North British, 9¼ ⅜; North Stafford, 9¾ ⅝ ½; Scottish Central, 14; South Eastern, 23½ ⅝ ¾ ⅝; York and North Midland, 24; Paris and Rouen, 27½ ⅝; Paris and Strasburg, 9½ ⅝; Rouen and Havre, 11¼ ⅜; Orleans and Bordeaux, 3⅝ ½.

The Corn Market yesterday was dull, and a decline of 1s. per quarter generally ensued.

JOHN CASSELL'S COFFEE BETTER THAN EVER!

THIS COFFEE is selected from the very CHOICEST GROWTHS, and is of superb quality. A trial is earnestly requested of all who appreciate a rich, fragrant, and delicious beverage.

JOHN CASSELL has attained a position, as supplier of Coffee to the People of the United Kingdom, to which no other person can lay claim. For this he is indebted to his uniform practice of sending out the finest and richest flavoured Coffees the markets of the world have supplied, and which the largeness of his purchases has enabled him to secure. His Establishment is the first in the Empire. Indeed, its large and powerful Steam-Engine, its beautiful and perfect Machinery, the size of its Roasting Department, and the immense number of persons employed in packing and preparing the Coffees for sale, entitle it to rank amongst the most extensive and complete Coffee marts in the WORLD. As regards the importing Department, JOHN CASSELL commands the FINEST GROWTHS that are shipped to this country. In fact, for supplying the People of the United Kingdom with an article that enters so largely into the consumption of almost every household, and the use of which has so greatly aided in the formation of habits of TEMPERANCE, no Establishment can compete with that of JOHN CASSELL.

If it is asked, what has raised him to his present position, as one of the most extensive Coffee-dealers in the world, the reply is, that he has invariably sold an article rich, strong, and mellow-flavoured, which has proved acceptable and highly satisfactory to the public taste. But though JOHN CASSELL'S success in this particular line of business has been unprecedented, he is determined, for the future, to aim at nothing less than UNIVERSAL APPROBATION. If this is to be acquired, he will acquire it; for he is now entering upon a stock of Coffees, and has made arrangements for a continued supply of such a quality, as cannot fail to secure their continued use wherever they are introduced. In fine, JOHN CASSELL'S COFFEES will be found to possess all the qualities requisite for making a cup of really good Coffee, namely—richness and mellowness combined with strength.

These Coffees are made up in sealed air-tight Packages, from one ounce to eight ounces; also in half and one pound Canisters; and, to PREVENT IMPOSITION, every Package or Canister bears the signature of "JOHN CASSELL," without which none can be genuine. The following are the prices at which they can be obtained:—

JOHN CASSELL'S COFFEE, No. 1 ..... 1s. 4d.
An excellent Article.

JOHN CASSELL'S COFFEE, No. 2 ..... 1s. 8d.
Cannot fail to give great satisfaction, being a combination of the choicest growths of Jamaica, possessing richness, strength, and flavour.

JOHN CASSELL'S COFFEE, No. 3 ..... 2s. 0d.
To every Connoisseur in Coffee this will prove a treat combining the finest mountain-growths of both Jamaica and Turkey.

HUBBUCK'S PATENT WHITE ZINC PAINT.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

THE WHITE PAINT made from Zinc was pronounced by scientific men in the last century to be the most beautiful of all White Paints, and unchangeable for hundreds of years. Experience has justified these commendations, and conclusively established its superiority over White Lead and every other White Paint hitherto known. The cost at that period being several shillings per pound, the use has been restricted to Artists, under the name of Permanent White. The Proprietors claim the merit of removing this obstacle to its general adoption.

For MARINE USES it possesses the following advantages:—

It is whiter than any other Paint, and retains this whiteness for years,—unaffected by bilge-water, or noxious vapours from cargo. The White Paint in the hold of a ship, after discharging a sugar cargo, is found to be as white as the year before, when newly painted. Under these and other circumstances, when every other paint hitherto known and tried has failed, the "White Zinc Paint" has preserved the fastness of its colour. Moreover, by virtue of its galvanic action on iron, it enters the pores, and forms an amalgam of the two metals, which protects the iron from rust, decay, or incrustation.

For the GENERAL PURPOSES of the Decorative Painter, the "White Zinc Paint" has been found unparalleled in whiteness, clearness of colour, durability, and beauty of texture.

For ARTISTIC WORKS in general, this material possesses advantages unattainable by any other paint. It becomes so hard as to admit of polishing equal to the finest coach panelling, without the aid of varnish.

For SANITARY PURPOSES the "White Zinc Paint" is valuable, not alone from its being totally free from every ingredient injurious to health, but from its combining chemical qualities, which render it a powerful corrective where contageous diseases have prevailed. Furniture or Buildings painted with it are at once disinfected. Paralysis and Painter's Cholic are avoided by its use, as well as similar results to the occupants of newly painted rooms. Apartments may be immediately occupied, without injury to the health of children or the most delicate constitution.

It becomes cheaper than the common Paint, from its spreading over a much larger surface. 2 cwt. of this Paint covers as much as is usually covered by 3 cwt. of white lead.

Each Cask is stamped with the name "Hubbuck,—London,—Patent," as the style of the Manufacturers.

A Circular, with full particulars, may be had of the principal Dealers in Paint, and of the Manufasturers, THOMAS HUBBUCK and SON, COLOUR WORKS, OPPOSITE the LONDON DOCKS.

THE GRAND EXPOSITION OF DRESS.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF

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